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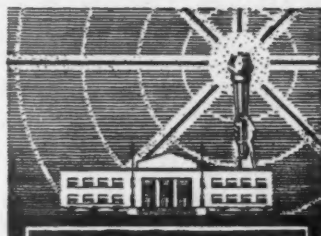
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VOLUME XLIV, NUMBER 5

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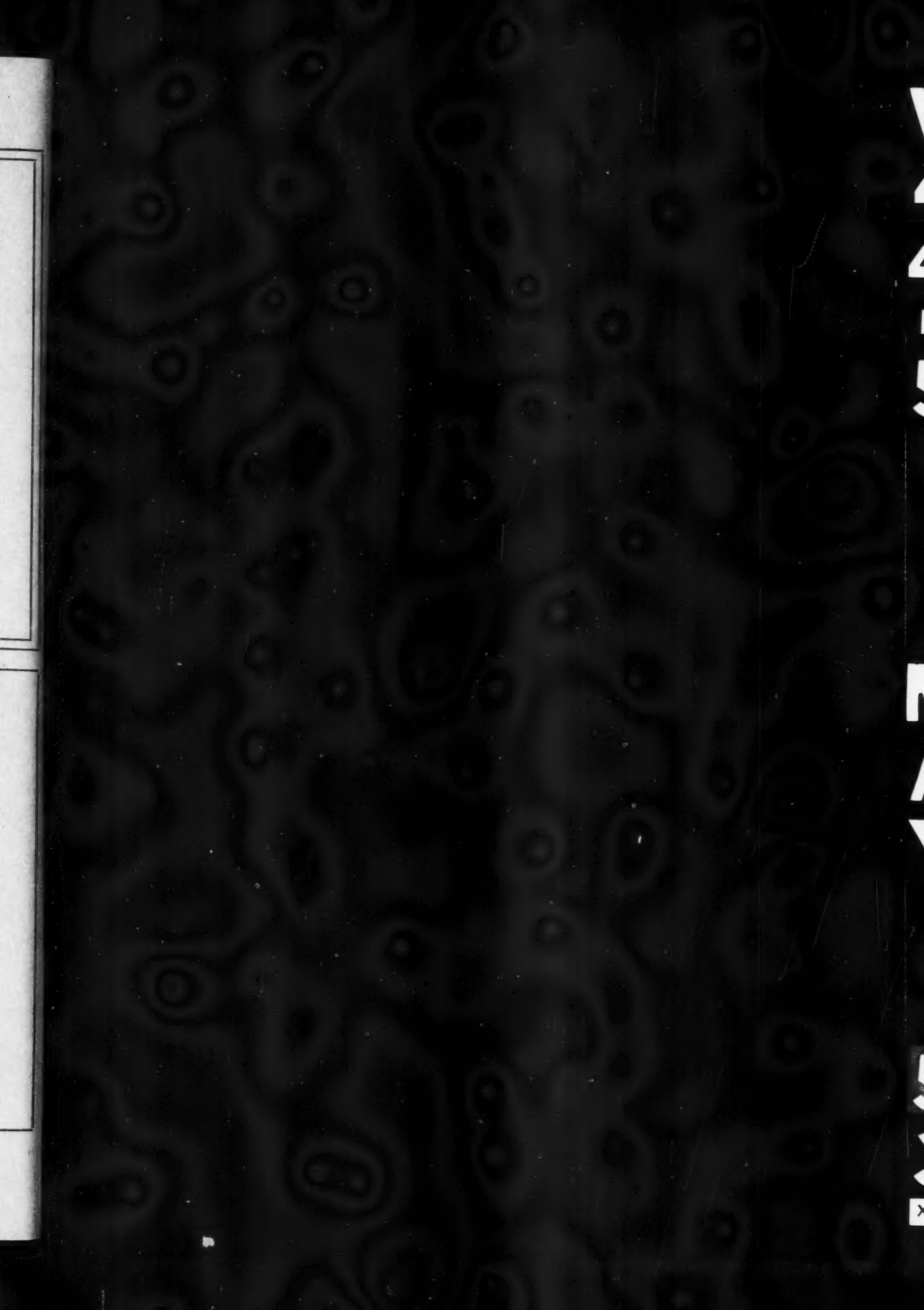
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The Social Studies

VOLUME XLIV, NUMBER 5

Continuing The Historical Outlook

MAY, 1953

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As the Editor Sees It

Recently at a school principals' gathering, an expert on public opinion delivered some opinions of his own on education and the present state of culture in this country. The expert was Dr. George Gallup and he prefaced his remarks by stating that he expected them to stir up retorts. Some of his charges did so, but perhaps not to the extent he had anticipated. Principals are generally inured to criticism.

Dr. Gallup's remarks included the following statements: that the level of general culture and information in such fields as literature, geography and history was regrettably low; that the product of the American educational system compared unfavorably with that of such European nations as France and England; and that the American people were principally interested in the search for amusement and entertainment.

The last of these charges is close enough to the truth to merit little argument. The tremendous amounts of money invested in radio, television, sports, theatres, motion pictures, night clubs, gambling and vacation trips indicate all too well that Americans devote a large part of their time and substance to the pursuit of pleasure. Much of it is due, of course, to the increased leisure time and the general prosperity of people of limited intellectual attainment. The point that ought to be made is that this trend is not restricted to Americans; they merely have greater means and opportunity to indulge it.

What of Dr. Gallup's charge that American education is soft compared to the European model? To support his opinion he cited examples of tests and courses given in French and British secondary schools which would obviously have been too advanced for the American high school. But is this sort of evidence valid as proof that our schools are less efficient? Certainly not until some other questions have been answered. In the first place, what proportion of all French and English youth between the ages of 14 and 18 are attending school, and how does this proportion com-

pare with the American figure? Secondly, if a general test of information of any kind could be given to all the population of a particular age in these countries,—say 18 or 25 or 35—how would Americans rank in comparison? It is our firm belief that if Dr. Gallup's organization would apply its scientific sampling method to give such a test to the 30-year-old group in the three nations, the Americans would stand at the top.

There is probably little question that European secondary schools as a whole attain a higher degree of achievement in subject matter than do American high schools, but they are select schools, open only to the superior few of the population. Their object is to train potential leaders. The American high school is dedicated to the education of everyone for successful living and good citizenship. An intensive classical training is necessarily precluded, both for lack of time and because a large part of the student body is intellectually unable or at least unready to absorb it. There can be no valid criticism of the way we are doing our job by comparing it with the European secondary school program, for we are not trying to do the same things.

It has often been said that ours is education for mediocrity, and there is much truth in this. Yet we are actually trying to do something that has never yet been done anywhere—educate the whole nation. Education is not a matter for one generation, for family tradition and background exercise a powerful influence on it. Hence we should not be discouraged or sensitive of failure if in a quarter-century we have achieved only mediocrity. The dead weight of centuries of ignorance among the working people can be lifted only slowly at first, and there can be no question but that the average level of education among Americans today is much higher than it was thirty years ago. The next generation should advance more easily and so on, until the day may surely come when our schools for all the people need not envy the intellectual achievements of any others, no matter how carefully selected.

The Social Studies

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MAY, 1953

James King of William — Scourge of Corruptionists

ALLAN M. PITKANEN

Downey, California

The fires of reform were set ablaze with a public declaration to the voters of San Francisco appearing in the *Alta California* in 1851. It indicated that the law-abiding citizenry were determined in an unprecedented way to see that righteousness prevailed in the coming general election. This cleansing torch of opinion read in part:

"... In the name of the common good of California . . . in casting your votes for suitable men to enact and administer laws, you will be careful to disregard all questions but such as relate to the general welfare.

"In whatever light we may examine the present evils of society, every man must come to the conclusion that the primary error is in the people themselves. Trace the troubled waters back to their source, and the explorer will find his journey terminates at the ballot box. There is where the fountain of evil found vent—not in the votes there given, so much as in the neglect of those who should have been there to select and elect proper men. . . .

"Here we present to your consideration and suffrages the names of certain gentlemen. . . . In making the selection, we have cast aside every question but that of fitness on the score of honesty and integrity of character, faithfulness to the interests of our city and State, and mental qualifications

for the position. We ask you to receive them as such. . . .

"Sweep clean the Augean stables of legislation; purify the crime; show by your votes that honesty and virtue are at a premium in public estimation; and that hereafter no qualifications but those of integrity and capacity can pass current with the voters . . . You have now the corrective in your hands. The fate of California hangs trembling within your reach. You cannot neglect to act without criminal indifference; you cannot vote for any but honest and respectable men, without danger and disgrace."

The first of fourteen signatures endorsing this bold statement of the Committee of Vigilance was that of James King of William. This three-year resident of California whose boldness of speech had set him up as a likely candidate for the important position of chief of police had already irritated the shadier elements running rampant over the city's political affairs. James King of William's endorsement was but the beginning of his attempt to prolong and foster the influence of the leaders of the Vigilance Committee by placing them in public office to better expose the corruption existing in San Francisco. Though such outright and antagonistic exposure of the wicked was not officially approved by the Committee, James King, like a lone crusader on a rampage, sought out the corrupt and the vicious elements

of his society for extermination. In consequence of such promotion the Non-Partisan enthusiasts to which King belonged upset the organized political domination and began to exercise a decisive influence in city affairs.

The question often asked in stranger-crowded San Francisco of 1851 was: "Who's this King of William?" In explanation of this slightly built, dark-bearded man's quaint patronymic it was related that there were thirteen other James Kings in his immediate circle when he worked in Washington, D. C.; to avoid further confusion, as the son of William King, he assumed his father's given name in place of the more usual designation of Junior—a not uncommon practice of the times. Coming to California in 1848 chiefly for his health, he had a brief but successful adventure mining gold at Dry Diggings (Placerville). The work, however, proved too much for his physical frailty, and in 1849 he established a banking house in San Francisco. His excellent background for this work enabled his institution to withstand the panic of 1850. Two years later James King of William was worth \$250,000.

As happened to other financiers in this boom town, unwise investments in 1854 suddenly forced James King, too, to close office. His assets were transferred to Adams and Company with an agreement that they should assume all his liabilities. In a most high-minded fashion, very unusual for the times, he surrendered to his creditors everything he possessed and accepted a salaried position with Adams and Company. The subsequent failure of this firm involved some of King's creditors in a loss for which he felt he was in no way to blame. This collapse left King ruined and bitter, but determined to pay off his debts, and, while he was about it, to reform the town! What really brought James King into the limelight as a moral gadfly with the astounding audacity to challenge the corruptionists to explain their dishonesty was the publication of his *Evening Bulletin* in 1855. This small tabloid led the crusade of protest, at first almost singlehandedly, against the illegalities singularly characteristic of San Francisco.

To understand fully the reasons for King's tireless fight for reform and to appreciate the

seemingly insurmountable opposition he dared to face, a more detailed picture of the times needs presentation. The Gold Rush changed San Francisco from an insignificant, sleepy coast town to one of the greatest boom towns the world has ever seen. The arrival of riffraff from Australia and the cities of the eastern United States brought about all forms of illegality. While the hard-working, honest citizenry centered their attention on making themselves wealthier, the matters of public control fell into the hands of unscrupulous characters. Perhaps the foundation for most of the trouble that called out Vigilance Committees was formal legalism. Legality had become a fetish. The law had become a game played by lawyers; the matter of dispensing justice became very secondary.

The result of this carelessness was that law-breakers received few convictions. Their defense was invariably upheld by the ablest and most enthusiastic lawyers procurable. The public prosecution, poorly paid generally and after many humiliations, took its defeats as expected events. It was a point of professional pride for a defense lawyer to get his client free, without reference to the circumstances of the crime or the guilt of the accused. To fail was a mark of extreme stupidity.

Delays of all sorts hindered progress in courts; witnesses scattered or were wearied to a point of nonappearance. The courts were prejudiced either to the moneyed interests or to the political grafters. There were even shadier expedients: packed juries, bribe-dispensing underling shysters; rampant dishonesty was looked upon almost as lofty integrity.

Because the sheriff's office had to connive at naming the talesmen, it was necessary to elect the "right" sheriff; in consequence, all lawyers were in politics.

A thousand murders were committed between 1849 and 1856. Only one legal conviction had been secured in that time!

Dueling was a recognized institution. A skillful shot could always "get" his enemy in this formal manner; but, if time or skill were lacking, it was still perfectly safe to shoot him down in a street brawl—provided one had money enough to employ talent for defense.

At this boom time there were big contracts and big financial operations. Easy money, laissez-faire! The contractors gathered like hyenas to a kill. Legal efficiency coupled with the inefficiency of the bench, legal corruption and the arrogance of personal favor, dissolved naturally into political corruption of the worst type.

Elections became sheer farce. The polls were guarded by bullies who did not hesitate at command to manhandle any decent citizen indicated by the local leaders. Intimidation was common. Votes could be bought in the open market. "Floaters" were shamelessly imported to guarantee a doubtful district. If the vote looked close, election inspectors and the judges could be relied upon to make results come out satisfactorily to the clique in power.

An ingenious ballot box segregated the goats from the sheep. Election day was one of such continuous whiskey drinking and brawling that decent citizens were reluctant to venture outdoors. The returns from the different wards were announced as fast as the votes were counted. Custom decreed that certain wards were to be held open until the votes of all the others were known. Then, whatever tickets were lacking to secure the "proper" election were counted from the packed ballot box in the sure ward. Five hundred votes were once returned from the Crystal Springs precinct where only thirty voters lived! If some busybody made enough of a row to get the merry tyrants into court, capable lawyers played the strategy of technicalities so subtly the accused were not only released but were returned as legally elected as well.

Thus, almost any crime of violence, corruption, theft, or the higher grades of finance, could be committed with absolute impunity. The apathetic public, frustrated by their unsuccessful protests and attempts at obtaining justice, merely shrugged their shoulders helplessly. Each man's safety and ability to resent insult depended on his trigger finger. The streets had become battlegrounds as bowie-knives and pistols were used by rivals hunting each other. Pseudo-chivalry was used by low-grade Southerners as they bullied their way through society. To be successful, the politician had to be a fighting man. "Honor" was a

weapon of defense. Opposition was to be battered down in the most high-handed fashion by the single expedient of claiming insult. Too many honorable people supported law instead of justice.

Hard times came to San Francisco in 1855. Miners needed credit. Merchants in the outlying towns needed credit from the city because miners could not pay cash; wholesalers in the city begged extension of credit from the East until their bills were met by the retailers; currency, because of private banks, was inelastic.

Out of the clear sky the most stable of these banks, the Adams and Company, failed. If this institution was vulnerable, nobody was then secure.

Palmer, Cook, and Company, through shady manipulations in the general scramble for the assets of Adams and Company, received control. And it was the same old story. An immense amount of money had disappeared. Nobody had been punished, and it was all strictly legal. Failures resulted on all sides. Perhaps the excitement might have subsided had not a compelling voice been heard—that of James King of William, now editor of the *Daily Evening Bulletin*, first appearing October 8, 1855.

The *Bulletin*, at first a 10 x 15 inch single sheet, soon grew to full size and outsold its many rivals. Like all papers of that day, copying the British style, its first page was completely covered with small advertisements, but the stinging editorials of exposé on the second page arrested attention. Clustered about the shopdoors along the main thoroughfares, people eagerly waited the utterances of this dauntless crusading spirit and read them avidly. Considering that his connection with the defunct Adams and Company looked dubious, James King had reason for attempting to exonerate himself by ferreting out the real causes of this carnival of crime, both subtle and obvious. Higher-ups who, at first, sneered at this "damned pious fraud" found the editor a tremendous power as he hammered away every day, naming names, printing circumstantial accounts of every rascality he could hear of, political, financial, social. Nobody

was spared. The collusion between bankers and gamblers was pointed out. With every jab of his pen King probed deeper and deeper into corruption.

Naturally, the life of this moral gadfly was threatened. To these rumors of plots on his life, this reply was typical:

"Bets are offered, we have been told, that the editor of the *Bulletin* will not be in existence twenty days longer, and the case of Dr. Hogan, of the Vicksburg paper, who was murdered by the gamblers of that place, is cited as a warning. Pah! We passed unscathed through worse scenes than the present at Sutter Fort in '48. War, then, is the cry, is it? War between the prostitutes and gamblers on one side, and the virtuous and respectable on the other! War to the knife, and the knife to the hilt! Gamblers of San Francisco, you have made your election, and we are ready!"

Attempts were made to get rid of him in a duel, but King coolly announced he was conscientiously opposed to dueling. One gambler whose challenge had been scorned threatened to kill King on sight. The editor's reply was:

"Mr. Selover, it is said, carries a knife. We carry a pistol. We hope neither will be required, but if this rencontre cannot be avoided, why will Mr. Selover persist in periling the lives of others? We pass every afternoon, about half-past four or five o'clock along Market Street from Fourth to Fifth Street. The road is wide and not so much frequented as those streets further in town. If we are to be shot or cut to pieces, for heaven's sake, let it be done there. Others will not be injured, and in case we fall, our house is but a few hundred yards beyond, and the cemetery not much farther."

Palmer, Cook and Company was relentlessly attacked and charged with corruption, bribery, and financial unsoundness, its secrets exposed with such clarity and knowledge that readers wondered how this editor-scourger obtained his information. The battle continued daily for months until the once prosperous firm was ruined and rendered harmless.

Judge "Ned" McGowan, Associate Justice of the Court of Sessions and influential in the Broderick gang of California Democracy, had

his highly unsavory record of Philadelphia ballot-box stuffing exposed.

King's black-list included: "Boss" Broderick himself; Billy Mulligan, keeper of the county jail; James P. Casey, the ward politician; Charles Cora, the gambler; "Yankee" Sullivan and all of that class of shoulder-striking, ballot-box stuffing politicians, plus gamblers, prostitutes, and pimps of every shade, rich and vulgar alike, but more obviously those who made themselves conspicuous in public affairs. Impetuously, vehemently, he tore them to pieces with almost savage ferocity. However, Bancroft, the historian, derogatively wrote: "He did not know the difference between editorial and personal lying. He was ignorant of saying one thing while meaning another. He never thought at every step to look behind to ascertain if the dear people were following."

William T. Coleman, leader of the Vigilantes, described King as "honest, brave, and terribly in earnest, but often rash."

Father Taylor of the Catholic Church summarized King's platform as follows:

1. Anti-dueling
2. Anti-gambling
3. To drive out of the city all houses of prostitution
4. To expose corruption in high places
5. To purify the ballot-box and promote none but honest men to office
6. To furnish employment for the industrious poor who seek a home in our new country
7. To promote public schools and educate the masses
8. To oppose infidelity of every form and vindicate the Bible as the word of God

Father Taylor eulogized:

"Mr. King never joined any church in California but his moral character and conduct, though not decidedly Christian, would, I believe, have reflected more credit on any church than that of a large proportion of her members, and his influence as a journalist has extended itself more widely in that he was not tied to any party, political or religious."

When Charles Cora, a notorious Italian gambler and known killer of at least six men, shot United States Marshal William Richard-

son, the *Bulletin* set up a vigorous campaign for his conviction. Slight, dark, dressed in the fastidious gambler fashion with a Byronic cape thrown lightly about his shoulders, Cora was currently infatuated with the equally notorious Waverly Place "Belle." Adding further insult to the high society of San Francisco, Cora brought "Belle" to the American Theater. He seated her in one of the boxes instead of in one of the stalls at the back of the house curtained off for her caste.

The presence of this infamous prostitute attracted such attention that Mrs. William Richardson, occupying a box in line with the stares from the audience, felt keen embarrassment. Richardson complained to the manager about their presence but received no satisfaction. Later, in a street encounter, a culmination of previous bitter words, Cora cold-bloodedly shot the unarmed marshal dead. Cora immediately went to the jail where he knew he would be safe with his friends of the constituted authorities from a possible momentary public anger. His was to be the test of civil power, but heavy odds were staked by the gamblers that Cora would escape punishment. "Belle," madame of the city's most sumptuous call-house, hired the professional orator, Colonel E. D. Baker, attorney of the Law and Order Party, and a battery of the cleverest legal minds in the city, to defend her lover. A retainer of \$15,000 in gold was given the Colonel which he promptly lost at faro. Later, when he sensed the public animosity, Baker tried to withdraw from the case; unable to repay the retainer, he was compelled to continue. In his able defense he declared his admiration of "Belle," for did not her devotion to his client lessen her devotion to the oldest profession!

At this time James King of William no longer minced words. He warned of the calling of a new Vigilance Committee in his statement:

"If Sheriff Scannell does not remove Billy Mulligan from his present position as keeper of the county jail, and Mulligan lets Cora escape, hang Billy Mulligan; and, if necessary to get rid of the sheriff, hang him. Strong measures are necessary to have justice done."

Public excitement somewhat diminished at the trial. Conviction seemed absolutely certain. Richardson had been a popular public official; Cora's action had been an apparently unprovoked, cold-blooded one. One jarring note was that James Casey, the politician, bound by some mysterious obligation, had actively taken a general collection for Cora so he could live luxuriously in jail.

When the jury, bedazzled, befuddled by Colonel Baker's oratory, reported inability to reach a verdict and was discharged, James King blazed forth against this fiasco:

"Twelve o'clock, noon. 'Hung be the heavens with black!' The money of the gambler and the prostitute has succeeded, and Cora has another respite. The jury cannot agree and are discharged. Will Cora be hung by the officers of the law? No. Even on this trial one of the principal witnesses against him was away, having sold out his establishment at \$2400 and left the State. It is said another trial cannot be had this term, and by that time where will the other witnesses be? Rejoice, ye gamblers and harlots! rejoice with exceeding gladness! Assemble in your dens of infamy tonight and let the costly wine flow freely, and let the welkin ring with your shouts of joy! Your triumph is great—oh, how you have triumphed! Triumphed over everything that is holy, and virtuous, and good; and triumphed legally—yes, legally! Your money can accomplish anything in San Francisco, and now you have full permission to run riot at pleasure. Talk of safety in the law? It is a humbug! The veriest humbug in existence is the present system of jury trials. Had we had a jury of eighteen, with a two-thirds vote to govern, an honest jury in this case might have agreed in one hour after leaving the jury box. Rail at the vigilance committee (of 1851) and call it an illegal tribunal? What scoundrel lost his life by their action who did not most richly deserve it? Men complain of the vigilance committee and say we ought to leave criminals to be dealt with by law! Dealt with by law, indeed! How dealt with—to be allowed to escape, when ninety-nine men out of a hundred believe the prisoner to be guilty of murder?

Is not this course calculated to drive an already exasperated people to madness and, instead of a vigilance committee with all its care and anxiety to give a fair trial without the technicalities of the law, to call into action the heated blood of an outraged community that, rising in their might, may carry everything before them and hang the wretch without even the semblance of a trial? We want no vigilance committee if it can be avoided; but we do want to see the murderer punished for his crimes."

The effect of this bitter denunciation of corruption emphasized James King's influence. The heretofore cynically amused higher criminals at last recognized this editor as a dangerous opponent.

Four months after the farce of the Cora trial the *Bulletin* revealed the report of an attack on the appointment of a Collector of Customs on the ground that he had once threatened the life of James Casey; simultaneously the editor again repeated the commonly known facts about Casey's shady past as an ex-convict.

The inevitable head-on conflict between the editor and this powerful ward politician had long been due. James Casey, in his greed for greater power and hence, a larger fortune, had brought about his election to the Board of Supervisors by means of a scientifically constructed ballot-box, with false bottom and false sides. The secret compartments had been stuffed by corrupt officials before the gullible public stuck its own ballots in. There was nothing easier than the removal of the false bottoms and sides when the preordained ballots came out of the box, swamping the others. King had exposed this trickery and had led to the pronouncement that a ballot-box stuffer was even worse than a murderer "because on the purity of the ballot-box depended the purity of all law and government, of Governors, legislators, judges, and jail-keepers. Pollute the spring, and the entire stream is polluted."

And Casey, as it was proved, had done a tremendous amount of ballot-stuffing and ticket-shifting. So powerful had he become by these illegal methods that he held the city and county offices as gifts to be sold to the highest bidder, or awarded to those who would divide with him. The only business he was ever known

to pretend to do was to fill the position of Deputy County Treasurer or Collector of Licenses on Foreign Importations, an office created to supply a place at \$250 per month. He took his seat on the Board of Supervisors, got upon important committees, and voted away the public funds to those who gave him back the lion's share. With the money thus obtained, in the fall of 1855, he had established a Sunday paper, the *Sunday Times*, and, as was stated by a critic: "without principle, reputation, education, or any qualification to conduct a journal, except his ill-gotten gains to pay its expenses, he set himself up as a reformer and corrector of the evils of the community; a general crusader against Bankers. The principle he started upon, God knows, was needed at that time in San Francisco, but his valuable (?) paper did not take up the subject which he mentioned in his first edition."

The editorial that drew Casey's direct fire had been printed two other times the previous year in the *Bulletin*. Perhaps the third time finally penetrated his callous conscience. It read thus:

"It does not matter how bad a man Casey had been or how much benefit it might be to the public to have him out of the way, we cannot accord to any one citizen the right to kill him, or even beat him, without justifiable provocation. The fact that Casey has been an inmate of Sing Sing prison in New York is no offense against the laws of this State; nor is the fact of his having stuffed himself through the ballot-box, as elected to the board of supervisors from a district where it is said he was not even a candidate, any justification for Mr. Bagley to shoot Casey, however richly the latter may deserve to have his neck stretched for such fraud on the people."

Casey wasted no time in meeting King about "that article."

"What article?" asked King.

"The article that says I am a former convict of Sing Sing."

"Is it not true?" the editor demanded quietly.

"That's not the question! I don't want my past acts raked up. On that point I am sensitive!"

James King waited for a continuation be-

fore asking, "Are you through?" Casey glared and nodded. King jumped up from his chair. "There's the door. Get out! Never show your face here again."

Casey stormed out. Trouble was heavy in the air.

Casey's friends expected their hero to come out with his long knife dripping; instead his blue-eyed Irish face glowed red as he boisterously led his pals to believe King had apologized. At the Bank Exchange where a few drinks dissolved his inner frustration, Casey stormed in vague generalities—he wasn't a man to be trifled with and some people had to find out the hard way. Jolly, hard-drinking, noisy "Ubiquitous Ned" McGowan, judge, "ex-con," joined in the drinking. Being a professed friend of Casey and his constant adviser, McGowan drew him aside for some whispered conversation. He was deeper than his joviality expressed. It was claimed he had furnished King with the document proving Casey an ex-convict. Some say he slipped Casey his own big navy revolver. Whatever happened, Casey left the bar, crossed the street and took his stand behind an express wagon, his cloak wrapped ominously about him, and awaited King's usual promenade home.

His pals who grouped about the sidewalk, watching, knew of Casey's intentions. A boy had been sent a-running to fetch a deputy sheriff whom Casey had favored to join the group.

James King of William, as was his habit, came at five o'clock around the corner, head bent in thought. After crossing the street diagonally, he reached the opposite sidewalk when Casey stepped from concealment and, with an indistinct utterance, fired point-blank at the editor. King cried out sharply, shot through the left breast, and reeled into the office of the Pacific Express Company nearby.

A fearless man, a symbol of the better element, had been unwittingly cut down. But so entrenched had lawlessness become, so safe did thieves and murderers feel in the protection of the authorities, that Casey had not realized he was taking any great risk by shooting his victim in broad daylight. And where would be a safer place to shield himself after the crime but in jail in the keeping of his sheriff and

jailer friends? Jumping into a waiting carriage Casey fled to the one story bastille at Telegraph Hill when a crowd of angered people gathered at the scene of the shooting.

The old Vigilante Bell at the Monumental Engine House had been tapped. In ten minutes two thousand citizens, as yet unorganized, surrounded the city jail; in twenty minutes all streets leading to it were choked with excited men crying, "Hang him! Run him up a lamp post! Kill him!"

As a strange coincidence, the most noted of the city's gamblers and shoulder-strikers were standing on a high bank across from the jail, heavily armed, at the time the carriage arrived with Casey. They could only have been there by previous arrangement. Marshal North had drawn up his armed men about the jail when the mob made angry threats to attack the building.

Thomas King, brother of the stricken man, appeared. Eager to address the crowd, he mounted the balcony of a two-story building across the street from the jail and spoke:

"I have but little to say about this matter.

My opinion of it is that it is a cool, premeditated murder, perpetrated by the hand of a damned Sing Sing convict, and by the plan of the gamblers of San Francisco . . . About an hour ago, I was at the Old Natch's pistol gallery, and he told me that my brother was to be shot. If he knew it, did not the gamblers know it? And was it not a premeditated plan . . .? Why did not the officers know it and interfere? Gentlemen, we have got to take that jail and to do so we must kill those officers, if they do not give way to us; and we must hang that fellow up."

Tremendous cheers followed. When an officer tried to arrest Thomas King, the crowd blocked his passage and cursed his effort until Thomas King heeded the advice of friends and drove away in a carriage.

The militia arrived. The crowd at first thought the volunteer troops were their friends, but were dismayed when they upheld the authorities at the jail.

Mayor Van Ness addressed the seething citizenry who packed every available standing space about the area:

"Gentlemen, I desire to say to you that you

are creating an excitement which may lead to some occurrences this night which will require years to wipe out. You are now laboring under great excitement and I advise you to quietly disperse, and I can assure you that the prisoner is in safe custody. Let the law have its course, and justice will be done."

Jeers met his plea. "How about Richardson?" "Where is the law in Cora's case?" "Down with such justice!" "Hang him!" "Let us hang him!" were the cries that shouted down the mayor.

Soldiers with bayonets filled the square and the crisis passed. A few of the more vociferous were arrested while an officer got his skull fractured by a brickbat.

While the masses floundered for organization, while men armed by the thousands, while others made themselves "considerably tight," James King of William lay in a room in the Montgomery block fighting for his life, attended by his wife and a score of volunteer physicians who squabbled about proper treatment.

William T. Coleman took leadership of the Vigilance Committee as it was again formed by order of the Committee of Thirteen the next morning. The issue, as one of them asked, was: "Shall we have vigilance with order or a mob with anarchy?" With very orderly procedure a great mass of men waited in line to sign up for membership. With the speedy reinforcement of the police, civil war was imminent.

Despite the agony he was suffering, James King, perfectly clear of mind, felt keen regret that his work had thus been ended. He asked repeatedly whether there was hope for his recovery. It was not easy for this thirty-four year old crusader to relinquish hold of the battle for justice he had so valiantly started. Little as he realized it, he was to be the martyr who would bring about a city's redemption; James King of William had long stood, almost alone, as a scourger of corruptionists. While he tossed feverishly between life and death, the Vigilance Committee, with thorough dispatch, had snatched Cora and Casey from jail and were trying them at their headquarters, "Fort Gunnybags."

When James King's death was announced, six days after the shooting, both Cora and

Casey were convicted and their executions secretly ordered.

The funeral procession proceeding from the Unitarian Church was two miles in length with almost the entire city's population in attendance. Those not there were at "Fort Gunnybags" to see a silent square guarded on all sides by a triple line of three thousand armed men.

A few minutes before one o'clock on that May day, 1856, the upper windows of the Vigilantes' headquarters building were thrown open; small planked platforms were thrust from two of them. Heavy beams were shoved out from the flat roofs directly over the platforms. From the ends of the beams dangled nooses. There was a pause of waiting. Sound of organ playing indicated the beginning of the funeral service. As though this were the signal, the blinds of the windows were thrown back and Cora was conducted to the end of one platform. His face was covered with a white handkerchief and he was bound. Casey followed, without blindfold as he himself had requested. Cora stood motionless. Casey's courage broke as hope of rescue died; he stared desperately at the sea of bayonets and grim faces below. Cold stares returned his frenzied appeal for leniency. He babbled: "Gentlemen. I am not a murderer! I do not feel afraid to meet my God on a charge of murder! I have done nothing but what I thought was right! Whenever I was injured I have resented it! It has been a part of my education during twenty-nine years! Gentlemen, I forgive you this persecution! Oh, God! My poor Mother! Oh, God!"

Not a word of contrition nor of regret for the man whose funeral services were then going on. Another wait, apparently unexpected. Then the churchbell boomed out its deep throated proclamation of death; a single note that reverberated to the far corners of the city. Another bell in another block answered; a third, more distant, joined in the requiem tolling that wickedness brings death and that a city mourns the passing of a good soul. At the first stroke of the bell the funeral cortege moved toward Lone Mountain cemetery. At this first stroke, the Vigilantes as one man presented arms; the platforms dropped, and Casey and Cora fell to their deaths!

And James King of William, who by his name

wanted to be recognized specifically for what he was, who had dared to defy the corrupting control of grafters, thieves, and wicked depravity, had not striven in vain!

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Teaching About the Role of Political Parties

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Within the past several years many social studies teachers have stressed the view of politics and citizenship generally described by the slogan: "Vote for the man instead of the party." In fact, this slogan has in itself become the basis for an approach to citizenship and voting which has been held up as an ideal not only to public school students but to college students as well.

Like most other slogans this one contains an element of truth and for certain candidates on the ballot conveys an attitude of careful selection of men capable of administering governmental affairs efficiently and economically. Also like most other slogans it results in over-simplification of the problems involved and in over-emphasis upon a single approach. Such a view has resulted in political parties falling into bad repute among educated people. It has become a mark of intelligence to ignore them or to look upon them as necessary evils at best.

THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Students of the social studies need to analyze the role of political parties and to consider citizenship in the light of that analysis. Perhaps it is best to begin such an analysis with the simple fact that political parties do exist and that they control much of the machinery of elections and in some respects are able to exercise considerable influence in all phases of

the governing process. They cannot simply be ignored. They must be dealt with. If the capable and discerning students of our public educational system fail to consider them seriously their operation will be left to those less capable and less well-trained. Such is the case today.

Mere toleration of political parties is not enough. Students must be made aware of their positive role. Political parties are the only institutions which are responsible for developing a majority out of the diverse views of nearly 100,000,000 voting Americans. We are people with diverse backgrounds, diverse interests, diverse occupations and, in general, diverse ideas as to what government should or should not do. Although we often characterize our citizens as workers or farmers or business men, such categories do not account for the real political, economic and social differences of the American people. Farmers alone may be divided into fruit farmers, corn farmers, egg growers, cattle growers, vegetable growers, wheat farmers, dairy farmers, tobacco farmers, cotton farmers, etc. Any other general class may be broken down into as many parts.

A listing of occupations does not accurately describe the political views of our people. One man may be a coal miner, belong to the Methodist Church, the Lions Club, enjoy baseball as

a hobby, read his trade paper religiously, have no apparent race prejudice, come from German extraction and show great interest in the schools in which his young children are enrolled. His next door neighbor may follow the same occupation but belong to a different church, another club, take no interest in sports or his union affairs, have ancestors who came from some other country, and have little interest in the public schools because his children are all grown. These cases show only two of the many possible combinations which are reflected in American public opinion. No government, whether democratic or not, could be fashioned to minister to such a variety of demands as would result without the efforts of some institution designed to encourage compromise. Some institution must assume the responsibility for fashioning these demands into a program of action to which a majority of the people can give their allegiance even though no one individual gets exactly what he desires. Such is the role of political parties.

Other essential functions often assigned to political parties include the selection of candidates for public office, assuming some responsibility for their performance, making possible some unity of effort between the legislative and executive branches of our governments and education of the public concerning the major issues and some possible solutions for them. The fact that no other institutions have been fashioned to carry on such activities in a way to interest the majority in a single program or a single list of candidates makes the role of the party essential to democratic government.

It may be argued that citizens who take their role seriously will want to exercise independent judgment after considering the merits and views of individual candidates and leave government to those so selected. Such a view assumes that those selected can accomplish their objectives by acting independently also. Those who uphold independence in voting make the further error of assuming that individual legislators and executives can operate in a political vacuum if freed from party restraint. Actually when public officials are freed from restraints which represent either majority views or minority views as determined in an election, they often fall prey to the views of pressure

groups which not only are not submitted to voters in elections but which cannot claim to be representative of the majority of the people. If legislators are to pursue their way successfully in bringing to fruition a program of action in government they must unite with other legislators to form a majority. If they do not have party aid they often must turn to trading votes on one issue for those of other members on other issues. The result is the well known pork-barrel tactics so common when party responsibility and party lines break down.

Exercising independent judgment on candidates rather than considering party policies also fails to take into consideration the need for integration of the legislative and executive branches. The best positive check which the citizen has over chief executives is to be found in the fact that the executive agrees with the program of action supported by a majority of the people and enacted by the majority of the members of Congress, the state legislature or the city council. Such agreement is most likely to occur when the executive is of the same party as the majority of the members of each house of the legislature.

PARTY INFLUENCE IN VOTING

Analysis of the ballot will indicate that although a strong case can be made for consideration of party views of certain candidates no accurate generalization can be made which will apply to all offices of all levels of government. The usual general election ballot can be divided into at least four categories. The first class includes candidates for legislative branches of local, state and national governments. In the second class should be placed chief executives including the President, the governor and the mayor. The third class includes those who will take part in the actual administration of government usually found at the state and local level. Such offices are illustrated by the sheriff, county clerk, the state treasurer, state attorney general and in some cases by members of the city commission if they are to act as department heads. The final class includes candidates for judicial offices. If such a classification is made, students are in a position to assess the choices before them much more clearly.

In making choices of those candidates fall-

ing in the first class, party views, platforms, and records are very important. Only rarely would the voter vote for a senator of one party and a member of the house of representatives (at the same level of government) of another party. Since chief executives are being called upon to exercise more and more leadership in legislative activities and since party views serve to help bridge the gap between the legislative and executive branches, candidates who fall into the second category should ordinarily be grouped with those in the first and party views taken into careful consideration.

Candidates who fall into the third class are not ordinarily required to decide important questions of policy but to actually administer laws. There is no Republican or Democratic way to keep records in the county clerk's office. Here the motto "Vote for the man and not for the party," fits very accurately. Exception may be made of offices such as are represented by the attorney general at the state level who will be called upon to enforce laws in the same spirit in which they are enacted by the majority party in the legislature and approved by the chief executive. Selection of administrators at the local level should be made on the basis of administrative ability, honesty, efficiency and economical performance. Unfortunately these qualities are very difficult for the voter to assess. Hence many students recommend shortening the ballot by placing such positions under civil service.

In most respects courts should be free from partisan views and from majority control. Although it can be argued that judges should be appointed such is not the case in most states. Voters must select able judges taking into consideration legal training, recommendations of state and local bar associations and known integrity of candidates.

TEACHER PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

If the above analysis is correct the social studies teacher must face the problem of how effectively to motivate students to take their place in party activities. Some writers have argued that college teachers can most effectively motivate their students by taking part in party activities themselves.¹ Others deny that it is necessary or desirable for the teacher to

become active within the ranks of a single party. There are merits to both sides of the argument.

Some public school teachers may find that they can take part in party affairs only at the risk of losing their positions. Others may experience no opposition on the part of their administrators, the school board or the public. Often opposition to teachers taking part in party affairs will depend upon the attitude which the teacher takes and the type of activity in which he or she engages. Needless to say no teacher should be openly partisan to the extent that he or she uses the classroom to persuade students to join the party of the teacher's choice. Furthermore teachers may be expected to use their influence to improve the tone of party activities and should not stoop to unethical practices.

Few teachers will find that they have either the time or the funds to run for public office. Few public offices exist which do not require the holder to give too much time so that they can be carried on at the same time as a teaching career.

From this partial analysis of the matter it is clear that many teachers cannot enter into party affairs and thus set an example for their students to follow. Young teachers often find that membership in a Young Republican or Young Democrat Club is possible and desirable. Each teacher must face the question individually. Above all, social studies teachers should not give students the impression that they consider themselves too good or parties too bad for them to engage in party affairs.

OTHER METHODS OF MOTIVATION

Other methods can be found to motivate students in such a way that they will be willing to support the party of their choice when they are old enough to do so. Seniors in high school may be encouraged to join the Young Republican or Young Democrat club in their community if one exists. Other public school students are usually too young for membership in such organizations. Some social classes take part in campaigns to increase voting on the part of adults. Such activity is commendable but it does not encourage an active interest in party affairs. At times introducing interested

students to sympathetic party workers or office holders will help give them a start along the way. Social science teachers should point to the day when students can take a more active part in party affairs by serving as party officials, contributing to campaigns, originating petitions for capable candidates and taking an active part in primary elections.

In addition to the above suggestions the following will serve as a partial list of activities which may be useful to the social studies teacher.

1. Students may know party officials such as precinct committeemen who can be called upon to address the class about their party efforts. Care should be used in their selection so that the experience will be meaningful and profitable.
2. Classes may be asked to examine party platforms, campaign speeches and party records to determine the real issues and the stand each party has taken.
3. Classes may be divided into parties and asked to draw up platforms using either real or supposed issues.

4. Mock political conventions may be held organized as nearly as possible along the same lines as the national conventions of the parties. The national committees of each party will supply information which will aid in conducting such affairs.

5. The formation of parties with slates of candidates and platforms for student government campaigns may be encouraged rather than encouraging students to vote on individual candidates with no attention given to issues.

Above all, students should not be taught to approve of all that they see of partisan activity. A careful, discriminating but sympathetic attitude on his part will help him see what is good about party activity and make him want to work to defeat that which is bad. The goal is not just to get more people to participate but to improve political parties and to make them more effective institutions of democratic government.

¹ See Thomas H. Reed and Doris D. Reed, *Preparing College Men and Women for Politics*, (Citizenship Clearing House, 1952) for an excellent treatment of the problem of training college people for party affairs.

Educative Implications of Summer Camp Experiences

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During the first months of the school term, classroom teachers, principals, and counselors are meeting new pupils, as well as old ones. These teachers, principals, and counselors are trying to devise techniques that will enable them to understand and meet the individual needs of their pupils. They search through past records of their pupils, and also accumulate new ones. A valuable source of information which would contribute to the school program is the information available concerning the summer camp experiences of the pupils.

Both the school and the summer camp are concerned with providing the child with ex-

periences which will assist in his social growth. Where the school is sometimes looked upon as a "formal" type of experience with its many regulations, the summer camp is looked upon as a place of "recreation." Thus, the "camper" enters his summer activities with a type of interest and zest which would be greatly appreciated in the classroom. He has a greater feeling of "freedom" and is in a better frame of mind to participate in the scheduled activities.

A majority of summer camps include in their programs activities of educational value such as arts and crafts, athletics, hikes, nature study, library activities, amateur stunt pro-

grams, and other similar types of activities. In addition stress is placed upon health habits and social customs of group relationships and social relationships necessary for a good camp life. It necessitates adjusting to fellow-campers of different age, nationality, racial, religious, and social groups. It also requires good mental health adjustment, an area that is causing much concern in schools today. Thus, to help in these adjustments, counselors and the camp personnel must provide a basis for good human relationships.

Some camps include a system of reporting by the counselors. These records if made available to the school personnel might be of unusual value.

Following is a type of check list which is used periodically in one camp:¹

Date Due.....

Villager.....

Counselor.....

Cabin.....

General Remarks about Villager

.....

Please check each activity engaged in:

..Aircraft
 ..Amateur Night
 ..Art
 ..Athletics
 ..Basketball
 ..Basketry
 ..Beadwork
 ..Berry Picking
 ..Boating
 ..Boxing
 ..Cabin honors
 ..Campfire
 ..Canoeing
 ..Checkers
 ..Contest winner
 ..Covered Wagon
 ..Dining Hall
 ..Diving
 ..Dramatics
 ..Drawing
 ..Duck Club
 ..Evening Program
 ..Fishing

..Games
 ..Glee Club
 ..Government
 ..Group Games
 ..Hike
 ..Horseshoes
 ..Honor Cabin
 ..Honor Table
 ..Hunt, Scavenger
 ..Hunt, Treasurer
 ..Indian Brave
 ..Indian Pathfinder
 ..Indian Village
 ..Kitchen Work
 ..Leather craft
 ..Library
 ..Metalcraft
 ..Merit Award
 ..Merry-go-round
 ..Modeling
 ..Music
 ..Music Appreciation
 ..Nature Hike
 ..Nature Work
 ..Newspaper
 ..Overnight
 ..Pageant
 ..Painting
 ..Photography
 ..Pingpong
 ..Pow-Wow
 ..Sailing
 ..Singing
 ..Softball
 ..Song Contest
 ..Stunt Night
 ..Swimming
 ..Tumbling
 ..Quiz Program
 ..Volley Ball
 ..in cabin
 ..in dining hall
 ..in kitchen
 ..Other
 ..Water Carnival
 ..Wrestling

Has his progress today been Average——
 Outstanding——Retarded——Stationary
 ——? Does he have a problem——? What
 problems——? Would you con-
 sider him a problem child——? Has he ad-

justed well——? Was his conduct good——? Was his effort good——? How was he during Village Improvement: Good——Fair——Indifferent——? Does he have a health problem——? What——? Does he wet the bed——? Why——? In your opinion would the boy benefit from an additional stay at the Village——? What articles has he made at the Craft Shop——? Why, or for whom, has he made these articles——? Did you find out any additional information about home and family background——? If so, what——? Table manners: Good——Fair——Poor——. Personal cleanliness: Good——Fair——Poor. Did he get into any disciplinary difficulties——? If so, what——? Promptness: Good——Fair——Poor. Cooperation with counselor: Good——Fair——Poor. Relations with other Villagers: Good——Fair——Poor——.

In addition, a summary report is prepared by each counselor. This summary gives a profile of the boy during his entire stay at the camp. After the boy leaves the camp, an essay report is prepared, which is made available to the agency sponsoring the boy's stay at the camp. These latter reports provide information concerning the boy's social adjustment pattern under environmental conditions different from those of his home and school.

It is this type of information which would prove beneficial to the school personnel. It would aid the classroom teacher in understanding the behavior patterns of her pupils. Following are summary reports showing the types of information which might be available for school purposes.

CASE X

The adjustment made by X at the Village could be considered as good. In spite of the fact that he gave trouble, he showed a great deal of improvement during the time he was at the Village. In the beginning X was reluctant to mix with other Villagers, but his experiences helped him to overcome his feeling of sensitiveness, which seemed to be based upon some of his past experiences at home. He cooperated very well, being kept over as a worker

for the last two weeks. His counselors recommended him because of his changing attitude and cooperation. X felt himself to be a problem and it was this which seemed to present a challenge to the counselors.

During cabin and Village improvement periods, X was cooperative and assumed his responsibilities very well. He seemed to be striving to make a success of his stay at the Village. He volunteered for work in the dining room and for physical labor around the Village. His counselor made the following report: He is extremely cooperative. He has expressed a desire to stay on at the Village and the same was arranged. X has been extremely appreciative of this favor extended him. As a result Fred informs us that X is one of the best boys on the truck, works diligently when others loaf. At the present time X has turned out to be the best boy in his cabin in terms of willingness to work and cooperate with his counselors and cabin-mates.

This same cooperation was seen in his activities, which were limited. Only occasionally did he participate in recreational activities. Occasionally he played horseshoes and ping-pong in front of his cabin. He went swimming and boating, making the over-night boat trip and the following data was made available.

1. X was most helpful and cooperative Villager on the trip.
2. The court session has cut his swearing down at least one half.
3. That if X could stay for the last period, it would help him tremendously in terms of behavior and social relationships.
4. Since the trip X has been getting along much better with his fellow Villagers.

X was "sentenced" by the Villager court to work at Indian Village. However, he enjoyed the work so much that he asked to become a part of the Indian group. The following report was given: "I had to send him to court and it had a most salutary effect on him. His sentence was to work off two or three activity periods at Indian Village. He carried out the sentence to the letter and yesterday it was reported that X had done some really worthwhile projects there (building bridges). Today X came to me and said he wanted to go to the Indian Village

every activity period and work. It is the only activity excepting boating that he cares for."

During the first few days, X did not mix well with other Villagers, but gradually came around to the point where he participated with them in different activities.

X's personal habits and beliefs tended to create his biggest problems and created a challenge to the counselors. His eating and health habits were poor, and he had to be spoken to very often at the dinner table about a complete lack of table manners. Usually he was a jovial boy, but became moody and morbid when talking about himself. He showed traits of honesty by returning articles of value which he found. His reactions were average, and he was sensitive to criticism. His greatest problem was his concern about himself. He was in constant trouble because of continual swearing. He related some of his past experiences which seemed to be pressing upon his personality. The following report was made by his counselor: "Last night in the cabin I had a long talk with X because he wanted to talk about his problem very much, and I sat back and listened sympathetically. He told me that some years ago his father died. After the day of his death, X had a series of traumatic nightmares which threw him way off emotionally. He still has those recurring dreams despite the fact that he has been receiving psycho-therapy for the past seven or eight years at the Center. X told me that he was aware of what the doctor was attempting to do. He told me that he disliked the sessions very much as it is extremely painful for him to discuss his dead father which is a theme which the doctor constantly brings up. He is very self-conscious and when his fellow Villagers and schoolmates ask him about trips to he tells them that he attends "Art School"..... Later that evening.....came to our cabin and we had a "bull session."spoke quite freely in front of a group about the past ten years he has spent in sessions of psycho-therapy. X seemed rather surprised that subjects like this could be discussed freely and that other boys wouldn't look at him as if he were "off the rock" as he put it and..... began to swap experiences and I think it did a great deal of good to discover that other lads

his age have similar problems and have made at least an effort to make some sort of adjustment with their environment.

Part of the story told did not correspond with the information received on his application since this information received indicated that the father was divorced and not dead.

Several problems were presented for the counselors. X swore incessantly. Some improvement was made along this line. He gradually was brought around to mix freely with other boys. His discussions tended to remove some of his sensitiveness.

We feel that X needs male companionship in which he can develop confidence, and be made to feel at ease. He is at the age where he becomes interested in various types of discussions, including sex. He needs sympathetic guidance which will help him channel his thinking along wholesome lines. He should be encouraged to participate in wholesome activities.

CASE Y

Y, age 11, lives with his mother and step-father. He is the only child and is in the fifth grade.

Y's stay at the Village was a profitable and enjoyable one, both from his own viewpoint and that of the Village. During the first days after his arrival, Y was a non-social individual whose activities were individualistic. His own explanation was that he "might get into trouble if he mixed with the other Villagers." In spite of his seeming superiority to many of the other Villagers, Y was very subservient and could be dominated by anyone who could get near him. As time passed, he gradually began to participate in group activities even acting as master of ceremonies on occasions. He left the Village having developed a better pattern of social relationship, having enjoyed the program of the Village, and having provided the counselors with pleasant experiences in their working with him.

Y was very cooperative during cabin and Village improvement. He performed all of the tasks asked of him without any complaint, and on many occasions assumed those of other Villagers. The following report was made concerning this situation: "During Village Improvement, Y can be counted on to work with

no complaint at any job whatever, even though the rest of the cabin resists. During cabin improvement he always does his job well and without prompting. Y definitely follows's example and does's biddings. Yesterday I caught in the act of passing his job off to Y.

During his stay, Y was very active and showed interest, progress, and ability in various activities. He participated in checkers, horseshoes, photography, stunt night, and quiz programs, the craft shop, swimming, nature study, hikes to Indian Village, tumbling, and worked on the Village paper. Among the various reports made concerning his activities are the following: "Y showed some real promise last night when he acted as master of ceremonies for his cabin during stunt night. He was very much of an extrovert on this occasion, which is the first time he has reached the peak of advancement. Today, for the first time, he made an attempt at learning to play football. He also took part in the track meet this afternoon." He went on a camera hike and took some pictures which he later developed and helped print at the photography shop. One was so good that the person in charge is having to have Y enlarge it. Y has shown ability in three distinct fields; says that he has a natural swimming tendency; says the boy shows outstanding qualities in the craft shop; and he has the making of a good master of ceremonies. "Y is another one of those boys who seldom misses a general swim." In the craft shop, Y made bracelets, rings, lanyards and modelled a ship out of clay, which was put on demonstration in the dining hall. He was very much elated over his success in passing his beginner's swimming test.

Y's relationship with other Villagers increased and improved as his stay at the Village was extended. In the beginning he was slow to mix with anyone, then accepted one or two, like, as his friends and tended to follow them in their activities. Towards the end of his stay, he mixed freely with other Villagers. Commenting on his relationships, the counselor reported: "The boys like Y very much and tend to mother him extremely. His relationships with the counselors were very good, and the camp seemed to give a better feeling

of security. This was noticed by one counselor who reported: 'Y doesn't want the summer to come to an end because he doesn't like the prospect of going home. He likes his mother, but has little use for other people with whom he lives.'"

Y's personal habits of eating, sleeping and cleanliness were very good. The following summary was given concerning his behavior: "Y is very fixed in his habits. This includes his manner of dress, his hygienic behavior, and the food he eats. It is easy to conclude that the boy lives by a set of rules that he has previously set up. Today he was so disgusted with his long hair that he went up to and asked him for a hair cut. Y does not laugh too often, but is not moody; quick in his reactions, shy, sensitive to physical hurt, subservient. He is well liked, and friendly himself, seeks affection a great deal; accepts criticism, suggestions, and responsibilities very well."

Every effort was made to motivate Y to the point where he would mingle freely with his peers and participate in group activities rather than alone. In view of the tremendous change that took place in his pattern of relationships, we recommend continued opportunities for Y to mix with others of his own age group under wholesome guidance. Other opportunities to participate in the program of the Village should prove beneficial. He enjoyed his stay and it was pleasant working with him.

In many cases the school packet contains only test results and reports of the pupil's progress with regards to his class work. Little information is provided concerning the social relationships and adjustments which the child has experienced. Recently a conference was held with a school principal who was in the midst of settling a conflict that had developed among some of the older boys. Reference was made to the packet and test scores which were included. How much more valuable would a descriptive account of the boy's social experiences have been in such a case? Knowing the pattern of behavior, some precaution might have been taken to avoid the difficulties which had arisen.

Not only do camp experiences of the above nature provide educative experiences for the child, but they also provide valuable experience

for the teachers. It gives them the experience of working with children under a different type of environment from that of the classroom. This type of experience should prove valuable to the teacher when she returns to the classroom. For these too, she must know her child, know the meaning of his different behavior patterns, as well as develop skills and techniques for meeting different behavior problems.

Such a source of information, with its possible wealth of information, might thus be used

more advantageously in helping to meet the problems of individual child needs.

¹ Agassiz Village (Poland, Maine) of the Burroughs Newsboys Foundation, Boston, Mass. The following is a statement of its purposes: "The underlying purpose of Agassiz Village is to bring health and happiness to street trade boys while strengthening them in their qualities of independence and resourcefulness. The Village is not a simple camp but a practical source of pleasure, is designed to further the boy's development. In self-government, for example, Villagers (as they are called) not only have the satisfaction of conducting their own affairs but receive training on their future responsibilities of citizenship." Elsewhere, much may be learned about boys by observing their reactions to this new experience.

Yugoslavia's Strategic Position

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The Balkan Peninsula earned its reputation for trouble-making through one basic and constant tradition: the desire to shake off foreign domination. The fact that such subjection by power had been traditional in the area for the better part of five centuries has helped to make it one of the most backward sections of Europe. Turks, Russians, Austrians, and for briefer periods French, Germans and Italians, have all extended their domination into this tough area. The result has been to keep the living standards at a low level and to breed hardy peoples who could survive disease, poverty and other miseries that accompany constant conquests.

The flame of liberty has always continued to burn in the Balkans. Aside from the broad national aspirations for freedom, there have been violent regional cravings for full self-government, as, for example, among the Albanians, the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes of Yugoslavia and the mixed populations of Rumanian Transylvania.

The Tito-Cominform feud has been but another expression of this historic tendency. Until 1948, Tito supported, uncompromisingly, Stalin's policies, as manifested by Yugoslav aid to anti-government Greek guerrillas, which led to a UN inquiry in 1947. Then came the open

break between Tito and Stalin's Cominform. The Tito regime finally decided that "imperialism" was not a "capitalist monopoly." Tito also became aware that Yugoslavia's standard of living was being depressed by Soviet design through a series of commercial agreements rammed down Belgrade's throat in a fashion somewhat similar to the tactics Hitler used in 1938 and 1939. He discovered that Stalin's concepts of communism, as decreed in Soviet Russia, were expected to be slavishly copied in a country with entirely different traditions and people. When he demurred, he was reprimanded, and as a result there was a revolt which has ever since presented the most explosive potential in the Balkans.

The defection of Tito from the Cominform camp surprised most observers, for Tito was the first man daring enough to defy Moscow. The world was startled when on June 28, 1948, the Communist information bureau (Cominform) denounced Tito and other leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party as opportunists, bureaucrats, and terrorists, who had carried out "a hateful policy" toward the USSR despite professions of friendship.

Tito immediately responded to the Cominform charges with an assertion of his complete fidelity to the Marxist-Leninist principles. He

quietly purged his enemies from the party and from the government. Through all this, he not only proclaimed himself a good Communist but continued to administer Yugoslavia in the typical Communist manner. He warned "exploiting capitalist elements" that the struggle against them would continue until they were exterminated.

Because of Tito, Hamilton Fish Armstrong writes in his new book, *Tito and Goliath*, "World Communism will never be quite the same." By his ability to defy his Kremlin masters, Tito smashed the Communist myth of international solidarity.

STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS

The geopolitical location of Yugoslavia is due to the fact that the country sits on the line that divides Central from Eastern Europe, that it dominates the approaches from Central, Eastern and Western Europe into the narrowing bottleneck of Europe, the Balkans, not to speak of the Adriatic and the Aegean Sea. The Morava Basin was the heart of the old Kingdom of Serbia and the core of modern Yugoslavia; furthermore, Macedonia, the southernmost part of the country, is the dry and sunny basin of the Vardar. In turn the Vardar Valley leads to Greece and the Aegean Sea. In the north, Yugoslavia dominates the Danube River, which connects Central Europe with the Balkans and the Black Sea. It would be from this direction that Soviet Russia might decide to inaugurate World War III by attacking the Yugoslavs across the 1,300 miles of frontiers shared by Yugoslavia with the four neighbors with whom she is at odds—Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania and Hungary. The Soviet invasion would try to sweep across the northern plains from the Hungarian and Rumanian frontiers. Tito would probably fight only a delaying action on the plains, but start a real fight with his army and guerrillas in the mountains which cover most of the country south of the Sava River.

The present U.S. support of Tito has nothing to do with ideological grounds; it is primarily a geopolitical strategy which aims to attack Stalin in his own backyard, to keep penetrating the whole power structure of Soviet imperialism, and prevent the Soviets from reaching the Adriatic and the Aegean sea outlets. In fact,

the decision to send American food to Yugoslavia at the turn of 1950-1951 as an outright gift was based largely on a realistic military consideration: that Yugoslavia's army, to fight effectively, had to be fed. During the summer of 1950, the sun baked the plains north of Belgrade and for 11 weeks not a drop of rain fell. Four million tons of corn, wheat and potatoes withered in the fields. The American action proclaimed, indirectly, to the people of the Iron Curtain states that they would also be helped should they free themselves from the Russian overlord. The Tito government agreed to give wide publicity to the U.S. aid and permit Americans to oversee its distribution to the people.

FRONTIER ARGUMENTS

Tito's relations with all his neighboring states have never been too good, although improvements have been noticeable in terms of Yugoslavia's more friendly attitude toward Greece, Austria and Italy as it has become apparent, since 1948, that he needed Western help. Since Titoland has all its flanks exposed and has learned, historically, that the country had been attacked from all sides (although the north-south and the south-north direction has been most frequently used), it has also made claims in all directions.

Austria has always been mistrusted by Yugoslavia, as its traditional enemy, the offspring of the Austro-Hungarian Empire which started World War I in order to prevent the unification of South Slavs. Although Austria is a microscopic miniature of what the Empire once had been, Tito still looks periodically with longing on the possibility of acquiring Carinthia and adjoining areas of Styria. Carinthia forms a basin watered by the Drau (Drava), with several beautiful lakes; the Yugoslav claims go back to the times when it was settled by Slovenes in the period of migrations. In 1918 the southern portion was acquired by Yugoslavia, and in 1920 the possession of the southern part by Yugoslavia was confirmed by a plebiscite, but the Klagenfurt, a manufacturing area, was retained by Austria. In 1949, Yugoslavia virtually abandoned her long-standing claims for a large slice of Austrian territory plus \$150,000,000 in reparations. But she demanded political, cultural and economic

autonomy for Slovenes in Carinthia, and a guarantee of minority rights for Croats and Slovenes who would remain outside the autonomous areas.

Hungary, like Austria, has been traditionally disliked and even hated by the Yugoslavs, who remember the anti-Slav policies of the pre-World War I Hungary, and the invasion of Yugoslavia by Hungary's troops during both World Wars. Belgrade has had treaties of "eternal friendship" with Hungary and Bulgaria in the past which were violated by Budapest and Sofia almost before the ink was dry on them.

The bone of contention between Hungary and Yugoslavia has been the rich plain-land, comprising Slavonia, Baranje, Backa and Banat, dominated by the Hungarians before the Turkish invasion. When reconquered in the early part of the 18th century, large areas were depopulated and resettled by various nationalities; this explains the confused mixture of languages used in the Backa and the Banat region today. At the same time, the Magyar aristocracy acquired large estates here, and their wealth induced them to look down on the South Slav "cattle." Thus the Germans and Magyar minorities here have continued to be a source of continual arguments, and their use by the Nazi Germany and the pro-Nazi Hungary made them most sincerely disliked minority groups by the Yugoslavs.

Italy. The eastern coast of the Adriatic has been a source of competition between Italy and the South Slavs since the Middle Ages when the region was controlled by Venice and then sought by the rising Italy. Istria, Gorizia and Fiume, and the Dalmatian coast have been the chief areas which frequently caused international tensions. In 1918, Italy claimed the Istrian Peninsula and the Julian Karst, although they were considered Slavonic. They were awarded to Italy, except for Fiume, in 1920. After World War II, the eastern part was claimed by Yugoslavia, and all of it, except the Trieste region (Free City of Trieste) were assigned to it by the Treaty of 1946.

The small port of Fiume (Rijeka), on an inlet on the Adriatic Sea, 105 miles from Venice, has been held by Austria, Croatia,

France and Hungary during its history. An Italian city set in a Slavonic countryside, and serving a Danubian hinterland, it caused the Italian representatives to leave the Peace Conference in 1919. The theatrical *coup d'etat* of the irregular d'Annunzio troops to capture it in 1919 was an international incident of the time. Fiume was eventually set up as an independent free city, and taken over by the Fascists in 1922, and formally annexed to Italy two years later. The Italian Peace Treaty of 1947 transferred it to Yugoslavia. Fiume is cut off from its natural hinterland, but is connected by rail with Ljubljana and Zagreb.

Why these periodic uproars over Fiume and Trieste? Both are located on Venezia Giulia, a highland zone, at the junction of the Julian Alps and the northern extension of the Dinaric Alps, whose land is predominantly Karst (barren limestone plateaus in the Julian region), generally poor except in the narrow and steep-walled valleys and the rich but shallow coastal plain between Trieste and Pirano. The region has quite a few valuable natural resources: bauxite in eastern Istria; mercury in the Idria mines northeast of Gorizia; coal in the Arsa region; and some zinc, lead and silica. But the real importance of the area lies in its location at the crossroads of southern Europe, and the meeting-place of the pressures exerted, historically, by the Germanic peoples pressing from Central Europe southward along the routes to the Adriatic; from the Italians pushing eastward across the transverse route of the "Pstumia Saddle" toward the Danubian basin; and from the South Slavic peoples pressing westward toward the Adriatic.

As far as the Yugoslavs are concerned, they are interested in maintaining themselves on the Adriatic. Here the Dinaric mountains have cut them off from the coast, and thus a few gaps and routes across the ranges are important. The Drin Valley provides a route through the Dinaric chain, linking up with the Vardar-Morava and Ibar valleys which together form a series of routes between the Danube and the Aegean. The ranges of Primorska are crossed by two railways; one runs through the winding course of the Narenta from Sarajevo to Metkovic and Dubrovnik (Rogusa); the other to

Sibenik and Split. However they cannot carry heavy traffic.

Trieste, another city also set in Slavonic countryside, has always been a complex problem. Largely Italian in population, it serves a hinterland which covers much of Central Europe. Trieste has an artificial harbor and before 1918 it was the port of Austria (while Fiume was that of Hungary), the railways connecting with the interior having been constructed by these countries. After 1918, Italy obtained the Istrian Peninsula with Trieste; but since the countryside is mainly inhabited by Croat—or Slovene—speaking peoples, the region has always suffered from conflicting national and economic interest. Since 1945, Yugoslavia in possession of the Istrian Peninsula and Fiume, has laid claims to Trieste. Yugoslavia has claimed that Trieste is geographically part of Yugoslavia, that the population had been mainly Slav, prior to a deliberate policy of Italian immigration between World Wars, and that it is the only good port on the eastern coast of the Adriatic and necessary to the economy of Yugoslavia. Italy, on the other hand, has claimed that the population of the port and its environs is mainly Italian, that it had been developed by Italian capital and enterprise, and that Yugoslavia had received the other ports of Pola and Fiume, in the northeastern Adriatic.

Even the international efforts to handle the problem of Trieste have not been too successful. The Free Territory of Trieste was constituted by the Peace Treaty of 1947, and pending the appointment of a Governor, acceptable both to Italy and Yugoslavia, internal order has been maintained by a force of 5,000 British, 5,000 American and 5,000 Yugoslav troops occupying respective parts of the territory. The port and the city are in the British-American Zone. The Security Council of the UN has been, however, unable to select a Governor, and Yugoslavia has virtually incorporated its zone into its own territory. An effort made in 1948 by the United States, Great Britain and France to get the USSR to agree to a return of the Territory to Italy failed, and the final status of Trieste remained one of the unsolved problems of Europe.

In fact, the Free Territory has become one

of the oldest pawns in the cold war between the Western Powers and the USSR. The United States had influenced the Italian elections of 1948 by announcing it favored return of the whole Free Territory to Italy. When Marshall Tito left the Soviet camp, the United States and Britain reconsidered; anxious to keep Tito firm in his heresy, they began to urge Italy and Yugoslavia to settle the dispute. The Yugoslavs, determined to keep Zone B, treated it as a Yugoslav province, and in 1950 staged an election for a new regional council; merger of Zone B into Yugoslavia was the real question at stake. Italians asked what the United States was going to do about it; the answer seemed to be "Nothing." All Italy broke into an uproar. Meanwhile, the USSR had come back into the game by sending a note to the United States asking that all occupation forces must be withdrawn from Trieste, with the purpose to heighten the United States' embarrassment.

Trieste is important as a port of entry for British and American troops in Austria, and is one of the few ports giving access to Central Europe. Zone B has been Communized, despite a Yugoslav commitment not to change the way of life. The economic base of the Anglo-American zone has several large industries—ship-building, oil refining and fish canning and port facilities. These were badly damaged by wartime bombings; however, Marshall Plan aid and the industrious local labor have restored them. Seaside swamp land is being filled in for factories that probably will include American-financed auto-assembly and shoe plants.

Albania. The Italo-Yugoslav relations have even reflected the changing Albanian-Yugoslav relations. A considerable body of Moslem Albanians live in the mountainous country north of Skoplje, through which passes the route to the Ibar valley; at the same time control of the mouth of the Drin is a matter of interest to Yugoslavia. When Tito was in the Cominform fold, the cooperation between him and Hoxha nearly led to an economic union between the two countries. But with the expulsion of Tito from the Cominform, Albania spearheaded the anti-Tito attacks of the Cominform countries. In 1951, the Albanian issue led to the deterioration in the relations between Yugoslavia and Italy. The Yugoslavs

openly accused Italian irredentists of meddling in Albania with the view of regaining a foothold on the eastern shores of the Adriatic, especially tempting the opponents of Hoxha with the idea that Albania's territorial claims to the Kosovo region were justified.

Bulgaria, which, although a Slav state, often pursued anti-Serb policies, and fought, during both wars, with Yugoslavia's enemies. Basically, both states have competed for the control of Macedonia, and the irredentist activities of Bulgaria in this region have been a source of irritation for more than the last 50 years to the Serb and Yugoslav states. Since the frontier runs through a sparsely populated mountainous region, it has been bristling with barbed wire and machine-gun nests in order to prevent border raids. Especially the Strumitsa area can be a threat to the Yugoslav railway down the Vardar valley.

Greece. Greece shares with Yugoslavia the problem of ruling the mixed population of Macedonia. While Tito was in the Cominform fold, he admitted a strong interest in what was going on in northern Greece but vigorously denied reports that his forces were helping the Greek Communists. However, the Communist guerrillas opposing the Greek Army received some support and assistance at least indirectly from Yugoslavia for a while.

CONTEMPORARY DILEMMA

Tito's dilemma is that he needs Western democracies and "capitalism" to build his brand of Communism; America's dilemma is that assisting independent Communist states is one way of breaking the power of the Soviet system. How this paradoxical merging of ideological opposites, resisting the same force for different purposes, will evolve in practice is one of the searching questions of a confusing time.

Political and military subjugation of Yugoslavia by Soviet Russia is regarded by many sources as an indispensable prerequisite to any future Soviet and military moves in Europe and as part of Soviet military planning. The

arming of the Soviet satellites and Soviet action against Yugoslavia are alarming for they seem to indicate that a Soviet attack is inevitable, sooner or later. Overriding the reason for a Soviet assault is that as long as Tito remains a successful rebel the Soviet Union cannot safely fight or risk a fight in Western Europe. The political and military security of the new Soviet Empire depends upon the absolute acceptance by all satellites of the principle that loyalty to Communism is inseparable from loyalty to the Soviet Union. As long as Tito flouts that principle and by doing so influences the thinking of Southeastern Europe, Soviet political control in that area is endangered.

There is a large minority of Slav Macedonians in northern Greece. Tito's motives for helping the Communists among them were clear. The strategic reason was that Greece was the only country left in the Balkans that remained outside the sphere of Russia and her satellites. Greece is the barrier to Russian penetration into the Mediterranean and is the southern bridgehead of the western powers in the Balkan Peninsula. The economic reason for Tito's prodding of Greece is that Yugoslavs want an outlet on the Aegean Sea, which now is sealed off by a long arm of Greek territory that fits over the southern edge of the Balkans like a crown over a tooth. The one outlet they have always wanted is Salonica, a scant 40 miles from the Yugoslav border. Greek Macedonia has good farm lands and some mineral wealth. Its loss would rob Greece of an area it depends on for much of its food. Salonica is the main outlet and deep-water harbor of the Balkan railway system, and the outlet for the Vardar River Valley.

The desertion of Tito from the Cominform camp also helped defeat the Greek guerrillas, who no longer receive help from Yugoslavia. In fact, Tito's strategic thinking has changed so much that he has already taken steps to bring about agreements with Greece and Turkey—before an attack in the Balkan area by the Cominform satellites—facilitating joint defense of the region.

Mid-nineteenth Century Attitudes Against Woman Suffrage

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The student of contemporary social attitudes may derive considerable insight from historical research in the controversies of the past. This is especially true in those controversies involving basic change in social behaviour. A study of the arguments raised against woman suffrage in influential and respectable circles a century ago provides a vivid illustration of the understanding to be gained from historical perspective. The attitudes of the eighteenthies and fifties on this subject, as revealed in sermons, newspaper editorials, and public debates, have significance other than as fascinating excerpts of early Americana. Not only do they reveal the social attitudes of a century ago, but, in disclosing the background of contemporary opinion, they provide perspective in understanding the present scene.

The Women's Rights movement was formally founded in 1848 in Seneca Falls, New York. Women's Rights, especially the right of suffrage, became one of the hotly debated topics of the day during the two decades preceding the Civil War. The question was kept before the public by a small but indefatigable group of women, led by Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The amount of promotional activity carried on by these women, especially in the Northern states, seems astounding. Suffrage conventions were held in county after county, thousands of signatures to petitions were gathered, addresses were made before legislatures, and tracts and pamphlets were published by the hundreds. All this effort soon aroused opposition, and ministers, educators, legislators and journalists came forward to denounce the feminist cause.

The chief arguments which the important and articulate opponents of woman suffrage

thought worthy of emphasis a century ago may be divided into the following categories: the authority of the Scriptures, the physical and mental frailty of women, the threat to female purity, the breakdown of the family, and finally, the general disintegration of society. In order to preserve their full historical flavor, we shall let the opponents of woman suffrage expound arguments in their own words.

The Scriptural argument was among those most commonly encountered. As Elizabeth Cady Stanton wrote in her memoirs, "When our opponents were logically cornered on every other side, they uniformly fell back on the decrees of Heaven."¹ The original cause of sin, pointed out a clergyman at a convention in New York City in 1853, "was because man, being placed in the Garden, gave way to woman, and the curse fell upon him; the original cause of sin was because man gave up his judgment to woman; and it may be, if we now give up our rights to woman, some great calamity may fall upon us."² "Biblical characters," wrote another critic of women's rights, "such as Esther, Delilah, and the wives of Pilate and Herod, show the influence of women in the subjective rather than in a forceful state."³ No less a friend of woman suffrage than Wendell Phillips, speaking in New York City in 1856 before the seventh National Women's Rights Convention, felt called upon to attack the Scriptural argument as one of the strongest raised against the feminist cause. Phillips denounced in no uncertain terms the "claim that one half of humanity is condemned by God himself to submit to the other half, because the first woman sinned."⁴

The idea of female frailty, both physical and mental, appears frequently in the anti-

suffrage arguments of the mid-nineteenth century. Woman's physical inferiority, maintained a prominent clergyman, fits her by nature "to live under the sway of man. Her nature gives her the power of governing men from within upward, mistressing rather than mastering."⁵ Women were warned by another writer of the "crowding, the turmoil and the fatigue of election days. In bad weather this would be an especially grave problem. The fatigue would be more than most women would wish to endure."⁶ The Select Committee of the Ohio Senate, in its report of 1858 on Giving the Right of Suffrage to Females, took cognizance of the anti-suffrage argument that "Woman can accomplish any object of her desire better by persuasion, by her smiles and tears and eloquence, than she could ever compel by her vote."⁷ Furthermore, continued the Select Committee, "The objection urged against female suffrage with the greatest confidence and by the greatest number, is that such a right is incompatible with the refinement and delicacy of the sex; that it would make them harsh and disputative like male voters."⁸

Expanding this line of argument, the New York *Christian Enquirer* editorialized in 1851: "The political disfranchisement of woman . . . has grown out of sincere conviction that their nature and happiness demanded from man an exemption from the cares, and a protection from the perils of the out-of-door world."⁹ Even the fact that women had weaker voices was cited as an anti-suffrage argument by a speaker at a women's rights convention in 1856. Woman was not fitted, he contended, "for the pulpit, the rostrum, or the law court, because her voice was not powerful enough. God gave her a mild, sweet voice, fitted for the parlor and the chamber, for the places for which He had designed her."¹⁰

One of the points emphasized many times in the anti-suffrage argument was the potential menace of the franchise to female purity and delicacy. Women who took part in politics would become noisy, base, and violent, showing a "strange facility of debasement and moral abandonment."¹¹ As one chivalrous writer expressed it, "Since boyhood I have been taught that women are angels, and I have believed it, and the voting place with its sawdust floor and

tobacco juice is no place for an angel."¹² The majority of women, it was contended, would regard voting as among the rougher duties which belonged to men. "The sensitive nature of virtuous women generally shrinks from public places where men of all classes, including the baser sort, are congregated."¹³ Thus it would be likely that "only women of ill repute would vote." A contemporary feminist, attacking this argument, retorted that even if this proved to be the case, the "right to vote had not been restricted to men of good repute, either."

In addition to the physical burdens of election day, the mental and moral obstacles were, in the opinion of some critics, of a still more serious nature. "Coarse and brutal men would have little regard for the delicacy of women, when influenced by liquor and the excitement of voting."¹⁴ If women go to the polls, they "must meet rude men there," and the effect of this would be to "brush off every feminine grace."

Woman's suffrage, runs another line of argument, will produce domestic strife and discord and thus lead to the breakdown of family life. Even the Wisconsin Legislature, in a Report on the Suffrage Question issued in 1857, took note of the argument that "political rivalry will arm the wife against the husband; a man's foes will be those of his own household."¹⁵ Not only would the enfranchisement of woman lead to domestic strife, but it would "degrade her to vote and hold office, and thus destroy her influence as mother, wife, daughter and sister."¹⁶

Not only would the family be threatened, but society itself. The *Albany Register*, in an editorial of March 7, 1854, viewed with alarm the claims of the feminists. "People are beginning to inquire," said the *Register*, "how far public sentiment should sanction or tolerate these unsexed women, who make a scoff of religion, who repudiate the Bible and blaspheme God; who would step out from the true sphere of the mother, the wife, and the daughter, and taking upon themselves the duties and business of men, stalk into the public gaze, and by engaging in the politics, the rough controversies and trafficking of the world, upheave existing institutions and overturn all the social relations of life."¹⁷

The arguments examined in the preceding paragraphs, because they were highly charged with emotional implications, were those most commonly encountered in the suffrage debate. The feminists were reminded, in addition, that they represented only a small minority of their sex, and the indifference of the majority, it was asserted, indicated their lack of sympathy for the suffrage cause. Women did not need the franchise, ran another argument, because "Man was her proxy, and exercised rights both for her and for himself." Moreover, it was contended, the right to vote implied the duty to defend the state by bearing arms, and since women could not fulfill this duty, they could not justly lay claim to the franchise.

Many Americans hailed with approval an editorial ridiculing the suffrage cause which appeared in the *New York Herald* of September 12, 1852. The author of the editorial was James Gordon Bennett, a man of prestige and influence in journalism and public affairs. The *Herald*, moreover, was one of the prominent newspapers of the period. Asked Mr. Bennett, in the *Herald* editorial,

"... How did woman first become subject to man, as she now is all over the world? By her nature, her sex, just as the negro is and always will be to the end of time, inferior to the white race and therefore, doomed to subjection; but she is happier than she would be in any other condition, just because it is the law of her nature. . . .

What do leaders of woman's rights conventions want? They want to be members of Congress, and in the heat of debate subject themselves to coarse jests. . . They want to fill all other posts which men are ambitious to occupy, to be lawyers, doctors, captains of vessels, and generals in the field. How funny it would sound in the newspapers that Lucy Stone, pleading a cause, took suddenly ill in the pains of parturition and perhaps gave birth to a fine bouncing boy in court. Or that the Rev. Antoinette Brown was arrested in the pulpit in the middle of her sermon from the same cause, and presented a "pledge" to her husband and the congregation; or that Dr. Harriot K. Hunt, while attending a gentleman patient for a fit of the gout or fistula in ano found it necessary to send for a

doctor, there and then, to be delivered of a man or woman child—perhaps twins. A similar event might happen on the floor of Congress, in a storm at sea or in the raging tempest of battle, and then what is to become of the woman legislator?"

Thus, in their own inimitable words, reasoned the opponents of women's rights in the eighteen-forties and fifties. In focusing some light on the long distance men and women have travelled in their thinking on this subject during the last century, these statements place the present day status of women in clearer perspective. Sociologists, psychologists, and psychiatrists, to say nothing of the more popular writers, survey the status of women today with conflicting and divergent views. To one school of thought, their emancipation since 1848 has made women the "lost sex," floundering in the confusion of an atomistic society. To others, the emancipation achieved in the last century has been an obvious prerequisite to the democratic way of life. The opinions of the mid-nineteenth century reveal the far-reaching change which has occurred during the intervening period. Merely the realization of such change, in so short a time, should facilitate a more enlightened understanding of the position of modern woman. Considering the extent to which society has changed its opinion as to her nature, her capacities, and her mental and moral characteristics, is it any wonder that women are somewhat confused about their role today, to say nothing of the sociologists, psychologists and other specialists who seem to demonstrate similar confusion on this controversial subject? Thus, to go back a century for historical perspective may add some sympathetic understanding to the present scene.

¹ Theodore Stanton and Harriet Stanton Blatch, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton as Revealed In Her Letters, Diary and Reminiscences*, Vol. II, p. 82 (New York, 1922).

² Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda J. Gage, *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. I, p. 560 (New York, 1881).

³ Horace Bushnell, *Women's Suffrage, the Reform Against Nature*, p. 88 (New York, 1869).

⁴ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda J. Gage, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 637-641.

⁵ Horace Bushnell, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁶ Carlos White, *Ecce Femina: An Attempt to Solve the Woman Question*, pp. 134-135 (Hanover, New Hampshire, 1870).

⁷ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda J. Gage *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 877.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 873.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 648.

¹¹ Horace Bushnell, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

¹² Fred Lewis Pattee, *The Feminine Fifties*, p. 92 (New York, 1940).

¹³ Carlos White, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

¹⁵ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda J. Gage, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 868.

¹⁶ Madame Jenny P. Héricourt, *A Woman's Philosophy of Woman; or Woman Affranchised*, p. 67 (New York, 1864).

¹⁷ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Eighty Years and More*, pp. 190-191 (New York, 1898).

The Teachers' Page

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EDUCATING "THE WHOLE CHILD"

We are living today in a world of apprehension and anxiety. Facing every thinking individual are a variety of insecurities—a product of a world undergoing industrialization of its economies and struggling at the same time to retain (or to extend) the benefits of democracy. Our load of anxieties—growing out of our fear of war, communism, depressions, inflation, illness, and old age—is becoming increasingly heavier. It is part of the price we pay, sociologists say, for the gaps that exist between the relatively different rates of progress we have made in the physical sciences and the social sciences.

Although we have amassed a great deal of knowledge and made tremendous gains in understanding the laws of human behavior, both individual and group, we have not advanced far enough in putting to use this knowledge and understanding. We know, for example, that in the long run it is the emotions more than the intellect that controls individual and group behavior; yet, in our schools, the emphasis of education is on the intellect rather than the emotions.

In the last several decades, we have become more aware of the importance of the emotional aspect of the human personality with respect to both individual and group behavior. Increasingly, psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, clinical psychologists, counselors, and social workers are called upon, individually or as a team, for preventive as well as remedial assistance wherever problems of human relations are involved. In the field of education, also, there

has been a marked emphasis on the emotional phase of the human relations problem, as evidenced by the added attention given to guidance, counseling, and activity programs, and by the introduction of new curricular offerings. However, the question must and should be raised whether the schools are doing enough in these areas.

Miss Margaret S. Lewisohn, chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Public Education Association, writing in the *New York Times* (Sunday, September 14, 1952) stated:

"The new education of the whole child, the task of guiding his social and emotional as well as his mental development, though widely accepted, is only partially practiced in schools today. Psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, services to the handicapped, recreation, adult education, better supplies and equipment, smaller classes, more individual instruction are today integral parts of a modern school . . ."

In addition to Miss Lewisohn's list of requirements for the education of the whole child, two other requirements are necessary: first, appropriate and adequate curricular offerings (regular and so-called extra curricular); second, well trained teachers.

The human personality, at any chronological stage, is a product of conditioning—the day-to-day impact on the individual resulting from the interaction between the person's biologic inheritance and the cultural environment—parents, siblings, friends, neighborhood, school, church. At any grade level the individual pupil is already a functioning personality (well or

poorly adjusted emotionally), the strength of his conditioned responses depending, first, upon his age (the number and variety of the conditioning experiences), and second, upon the intensity (traumatic or health inducing) of those same experiences. Along with the other services provided by the school (training of the intellect and development of skills), the curricular offerings should, therefore, provide training which will:

- (1) help to fix or strengthen the emotional structure which is healthy and conducive to good adjustment;
- (2) help to uncondition unhealthy emotional responses, and substitute in their place emotional patterns that favor good adjustment.

To introduce curricular offerings which can accomplish these objectives will, of necessity, require considerable research and experimentation. However, a great deal of help can be had from already tried experiments, as well as from the work done by clinical psychologists, psychiatrists, and others working in some area of individual and group therapy.

From evidence found in educational literature, much more seems to have been done on the elementary than the secondary school level. The progressive movement, in spite of its misinterpretation and misuse by some who did not fully understand its psychological implications, has contributed much to fostering classroom environments and curricula that permit the proper channeling of both aggressive and creative impulses, normal and natural to developing young children. There are many people who feel that our schools have been neglecting the traditional skills in favor of the emotional and social aspects of personality. But, is not the development of a personality structure that will enable an individual to meet the stresses and strains of living in today's world as important as developing skills in reading, writing, and arithmetic? It is not a question of an "either-or" choice. The schools can and should direct their efforts to helping children to develop both the "essential tools of living," as well as the personal and social traits necessary to living in our complex society.

On the secondary school level, the problem is relatively similar, although perhaps more

complex, since the older the student the more fixed are his emotional patterns of behavior. Here also, the curricular offerings should give increased emphasis to strengthening the healthy responses, and unconditioning the unhealthy responses. Much of this work will of necessity have to be therapeutic in nature. At the same time, of course, since the secondary school student is close to adulthood, with its accompanying privileges and responsibilities, the school program must, naturally, be geared also to his civic and vocational needs.

Some experimentation is already being done with respect to curricular emphasis on the emotional and social aspects of the human personality. Much of this experimentation has been in the form of "new" courses dealing with such areas as personality, the emotions, mental health, psychology for living, sex, social living, human relations, and marriage and the family.

That there is a need for such courses in basic psychology on the secondary school level was the conclusion of a workshop conducted this past summer under the directorship of Dr. Arthur J. Jersild, and sponsored by the Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute of School Experimentation of Teachers College, Columbia University. Below are a few significant comments as reported in *The New York Times* (8-11-52).

"Courses in psychology should be offered in every high school in the country to help American teen-agers become emotionally mature and responsible citizens . . .

In this increasingly complex world . . . teachers must be 'more than mere custodians or dispensers of knowledge, their work must include the teaching of wholesome values and helping students to unlearn things which are unwholesome.'

'In the past . . . too much emphasis was placed on information-getting by students and problems in actual living were separated from academic learning.'

A pupil's adjustment to life must come through understanding and acceptance of himself and others. . . . Learning to adjust one's emotions and make them part of a wholesome way of life is the essence of maturity. By teaching psychology, schools

have unusual opportunities for helping young people to understand themselves and to "acquire a healthy system of values."

The writer himself has had considerable success (although no formal evaluation has been made) with a course in Human Relations given to seniors in his own school. On the basis of this experience and the literature in the field the basic objectives of such courses in high school should be to help students to

- (1) learn to accept themselves for what they are
- (2) learn to accept other people for what they are
- (3) free themselves of undue anxiety and guilt feelings
- (4) develop mature emotional patterns of behavior
- (5) improve their relations with other people, particularly members of their own family

The emphasis of such courses should be on therapeutic techniques rather than knowledge-obtaining techniques. Knowledge, of course, is important, but only if it is accompanied by the disposition to make use of the knowledge. Consequently, such courses should stress, in addition to reading current literature (on the student level) in the field of psychology and related disciplines, such activities as informal class discussions (based on appropriate films, readings, or specially prepared questions),

individual reports, self-expression through writing (with emphasis on personal feelings), and group or individual counseling sessions.

In all such courses the teacher is of strategic importance. Of course, it is highly desirable that all teachers provide in their classrooms an atmosphere of permissiveness. In the type of courses described, in particular, the permissive atmosphere is, in fact, an integral part of the technique of teaching.

According to Dr. Jersild, "a large proportion of the young persons now entering adulthood are burdened with anxiety, hostility, defense attitudes towards themselves and others, feelings of guilt, inferiority or other forms of self-disparagement and self-distrust. Teachers can use psychological information and insights to help such students." (*New York Times*, Sept. 14, 1952).

Not all teachers can undertake this responsibility without the necessary training. For the new teacher, most of this training should be provided in the teacher training institutions. For the incumbent teacher, either further education on the graduate level or in-service courses and summer workshops might be the answer. In all such training courses, the emphasis should be on techniques that utilize the principles of psychotherapy. If the schools are to emphasize "the whole" child, teacher education and training should emphasize "the whole" teacher.

Visual and Other Aids

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

Washington Junior High School, Mount Vernon, New York

The new Denoyer-Geppert Physical-Political Map of Canada, published in May, shows the results of many recent Arctic expeditions. A recognized color system to show land elevations and water depths is noted. Cities and towns are located on the new map by symbols graded according to the population given in the 1951 census. In its entirety the map is 72 by 64 inches. It is possible to obtain two com-

plete sections (East Canada and West Canada) each 44 by 64 inches. The map is published by the Denoyer-Geppert Co., 5235 Ravenswood Ave., Chicago, Ill., scientific school map makers, whose maps are designed by educators, edited by scholars, and produced by craftsmen.

FILMS

Mastery of the Air. 2 reels. 17 minutes. Rental, or sale. British Information Services, 30

Rockefeller Plaza, N. Y. 20, N. Y.

Here is a vivid documentation of the heroism and inventive genius which has made British aircraft manufacturers leaders of world advance in aviation.

Future of One Million Africans. 2 reels. 21 minutes. Rental, or sale. British Information Services.

The film not only shows excellent samples of tribal dances, and customs, agricultural and industrial problems, but also faces the basic problem of transfer.

Commonwealth of Nations. 30 minutes. Rental, or sale. Black and white. British Information Services.

This film is designed to show, generally, the present nature, extent, and constitution of the Commonwealth, its purpose, the benefits deriving from it, and the relationship among members.

Caribbean. 3 reels. 25 minutes. Sale, or rental. Black and white. Sale, or rental. British Services.

It gives a closer view of these colorful lands where ancient traditions blend with modern customs; where problems of housing, education, and health must be solved if greater progress is to be achieved.

Challenge in Nigeria. 20 minutes. Rental, or sale. British Information Services.

Film gives a clear, concise and objective picture of the problems which are found in Britain's biggest protectorate.

A Picture of Britain. 2 reels. 22 minutes. Rental, or sale. British Information Services.

An interesting social and industrial impression of modern Britain and her people, showing step by step the British scene in industry, agriculture, science, etc.

Britain's New Resources. 1 reel. 10 minutes. Black and white. Sale, or rental. British Information Services.

Highlights Britain's economic position; depicts her own resources, show what can be exploited and by what means she can develop the use of raw materials.

Drums for Holiday. 33 minutes. Color. Sale, or rental. British Information Services.

Seen is the famous Gold Coast of West Africa, its people, industries, and way of life.

Voices Under the Sea. 2 reels. Black and white. 19 minutes. Sale, or rental. British Information Services.

It tells the story of one of the world's great scientific experiments that has helped men of one nation communicate with those of others.

Britain's Comet. 20 minutes. Rental, or sale. British Information Services.

Unfolds the dramatic story of the jet craft's building and testing, its first take-off, its first public appearance and its final approval.

In Black and White. 20 minutes. Sale, or rental. British Information Services.

Discoveries through the ages which have made the printed word the most important contribution to civilization, as they were made in France, England, and other countries.

Our Inheritance from Historic Greece. 1 reel. Sound. Color. Black and white. Sale or rental. Coronet Films, Coronet Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

The cultural inheritances from ancient Greece in language, thought, architecture, sculpture, drama, and mathematics.

Geography of the Mountain States. 1 reel. Sound. Color. Black and white. Sale or rental. Coronet Films.

The six states of Montana, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Idaho and Nevada.

Respect for Property. 1 reel. Sound. Color. Black and white. Sale or rental. Coronet Films.

In a good manner, the film presents 3 basic concepts of respect for the property of others.

Hindu Family. 1 reel. Black and white. Sale or rental. Sound. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Wilmette, Ill.

The family relationships and customs of far-away India now very much in the limelight of world affairs are clearly shown in this factual visit to a Hindu family in the village of Atgaum, in the province of Gujerat.

You Can Take It With You. 27 minutes. Sound. Color. Free loan. Modern Talking Picture Service, Inc., 45 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

The film offers a practical solution to housing problems of transients. Into this story is woven how a kite helped to build a bridge.

North America Moves Ahead. 20 minutes. Sound. Color. Free loan. Modern Talking

Picture Service, Inc., 45 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.

The film traces the evolution of highways from Indian trails to express turnpikes.

Sugar, U. S. A. 28 minutes. Sound. Color. Free loan. Modern Talking Picture Service, Inc.

Shows how sugar has been grown in the U. S. Explains modern refining steps, and episodes in the development of this product.

FILMSTRIPS

This Is Korea. Contains 4 filmstrips, each about 45 frames, dedicated to the free nations of the world who in united action are fighting to preserve the young democracy. The strips portray in color the people, geography, economics, culture, and religions of Korea. Sale. Educational Services, 1702 K St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

Canada: A Nation Grows. 55 frames. Teacher's guide. Sale. Office of Educational Activities, *The New York Times*, Times Square, New York 36, N. Y.

Surveys important aspects of our northern neighbor. It is divided into four sections: these deal with the people, the land, Canada's political growth, and her economic progress.

The Rising Tide of Nationalism. 59 frames. Teacher's guide. Sale. Office of Educational Activities, *The New York Times*.

Divided into six sections, each dealing with a particular area of the world: East Asia, Southeast Asia and the South Pacific, South Asia, the Middle East and North Africa, Central and South Africa, and the Western Hemisphere.

Problems of the New Administration. 54 frames. Teacher's guide. Sale. Office of Edu-

cational Activities, *The New York Times*.

Divided into three main sections it deals with: (1) foreign problems, like the cold war, Korea, the U.N., foreign aid and trade; (2) domestic problems, like inflation, the budget, taxes, civil rights, demands of labor and management, and security programs; (3) government problems, like unifying his own party, getting along with Congress, and making appointments to important posts.

PICTURES

Realistic Visual Aids, P.O. Box 11, Highland, Calif., offers 15 sets of original pictures designed for use as social study units. Each set contains 15 photographs; each set covers a different subject matter; each set is offered in either 11 by 14, or 8 by 10; each set is offered mounted, cloth backed, or unmounted; each set is fully captioned on the reverse side of each photograph; each photograph is borderless. Units offered for sale are:

Community Life
Wholesale Markets
Ships Harbor & Cargo
South America
The Mayflower Story
The Westward
Movement
Dairy Farm
Trucks
Post Office
Mexico
General Farm
Trains
Airplanes & Airport
Story of Knighthood
Trail Makers of
the West

News and Comment

R. T. SOLIS-COHEN

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

The Kids Who Drive You Nuts

The pupils who "drive their teachers nuts," in the opinion of Charles A. Tonsor, (*The Clearing House*, February, 1953) are the unmanageable children.

He believes that these children, as a group, manifest certain peculiar characteristics. They are looking for "something to hang on to." As a group they exhibit a hostility to school but they do not want to leave school. Many of these

pupils are not dull or slow-learners but all have some emotional difficulty. They attempt to find compensation by trying to be big shots in the community or in class.

Among the causes for their unsocial behavior listed by Dr. Tonsor are:

(1) Growth conflicts combined with fears of being a maverick.

(2) Their families' attitude deprecating the value of school. For example a family sees no value in school work and is impatient for a boy to obtain a job, or a family believes that a girl needs no education because she'll only become a housewife.

(3) Inability of some to compete financially or socially with their fellows, e.g., no car, no dates, etc.

(4) Gang values as a strong force against learning and success.

(5) Neuroses.

Some children are mentally ill, lacking energy for the ordinary activities of life. Others are destructive and uncontrollable, upsetting the rest of the class.

(6) Boredom.

Some children are not adequately stimulated and become restless from monotony.

Tonsor believes that the danger point is reached when a fixed type of behavior sets in, e.g., when the pupils just can't understand the need of pulling their share of the load, when outward aggressive acts become the pattern, when escape from reality appears and when exhibitionism disturbs the class.

The remedies suggested by the author are substituting "can do" for "can't do," personality reconstruction, and the recognition that these children are in rebellion.

Dr. Tonsor maintains that the following procedure is effective: say gently to the pupil, . . . "your trouble is kindness. You have never learned what that means . . ." About the fifth situation in which that is stressed, the idea begins to sink in. Then come questions. You have to show that kindness is not surrender; it is not defeat; it is self-esteem, self-valuation; that only persons who respect themselves can really be kindly. Then you have to show how "a kindly person acts in the face of unkindness."

The author advises the teacher not to become emotionally involved, but to listen to the pupil even if the latter is impudent, explaining that these children can't stand the loss of what they like or value and that they need to be taught how to proceed.

The same general principles were stated by Dr. Tonsor in *High Points* (Jan., 1953). However, in the latter article he advises the teacher to use student group pressure as used by a school ball team.

World Health Day—April 7th

The United Nations Department of Public Information has issued a special poster on the occasion of World Health Day—April 7th. Its title is "Health is Wealth" with a subtitle "Poverty and disease go hand in hand—but nations are working together to raise health and living standards throughout the world."

Eye-catching pictures show the activities of the World Health Organization in Istanbul. These photographs may be obtained free, for publication purposes, from the Photographic and Visual Information Section, Room 989, United Nations, U.S.A. or one's local United Nations Information Center. The glossy prints (8 in. by 10 in.) will be released with captions in English, French or Spanish. No matrices or plastic plates are available.

The Greek Question

The Research Section Department of Public Information of the United Nations published on January 6, 1953 Background Paper No. 71 on "The Greek Question." The Paper is a mimeographed study, divided into six parts. In the first is discussed the U.S.S.R. Complaint. In the second, the Ukrainian Complaint. The third part, which considers the Greek Complaint, includes the establishment and Report of the Investigation Commission. The fourth section is devoted to the consideration by the General Assembly of the Greek Question from 1947 to 1949 and gives attention to the repatriation of Greek children.

The fifth section is concerned with the U.S.S.R. Complaint before the Security Council in 1950.

The last part of the paper, called "Continued Consideration by the Assembly," contains reports and accounts of action taken during 1951 and 1952.

Aided Self-Help Housing in Puerto Rico and the Caribbean

Aided Self-Help Housing in Puerto Rico is a government project to help landless agricultural laborers and their families. Formerly, left to house themselves, these laborers created and faced many social and health hazards. (A. A. Carney in *Fundamental and Adult Education*, January, 1953.)

The Land Reform Act of Puerto Rico passed in April, 1941, aims at helping the landless agricultural laborers by resettling 25,000 families in 165 communities.

The Social Programmes Administration, an agency of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, deals with the housing aspects of the plan within the settlements.

Aided self-help is a means whereby 12 or 15 families cooperatively build their homes. These families provide all the labor required and give such materials as they may have—sand, gravel, salvaged boards, etc. The government provides the technical direction and a loan in the form of the materials used in constructing the

buildings.

The families in this resettlement program have the right to use the land for life and to pass it on to their dependents, providing that all the conditions of tenure are met.

Mr. Carney outlines the community's cooperative planning and describes their execution of the building operation.

The typical design of the houses is an overall outside area 18 feet by 18 feet. Each house contains two bedrooms, a living-dining room, and a porch.

The Office of Social Programmes Administration arranges for the laborers to pay for the construction of their houses by means of an interest free loan for ten or twenty years.

This cooperative method of providing housing is regarded as most effective because it employs the combined manpower of the families themselves, develops new skills, provides the maximum number of houses built at a minimum cost and replaces huts with well constructed hurricane-proof and earthquake-proof homes for the agricultural laborers.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

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Man, Money, and Goods. By John S. Gambs. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952. Pp. xii, 340. \$3.75.

The author of this popular guide to economic theory, somewhat facetiously, tells us that he first thought of titling it "Economics for Those Who Flunked It." Although apparently he restrained this impulse, *Man, Money and Goods* does offer a good deal of comfort for those not economically inclined. It does indeed specialize in clarification—it selects for discussion precisely that part of economics which ordinarily repels, puzzles, discourages, or antagonizes readers or students—the part that frightens and/or breeds inferiority complexes! It likewise makes simple the obfuscations, fogs, booby traps, mazes, brilliant insights, and acrimoni-

ous debate which often characterize or have, in the past, characterized theories of economics.

Professor Gambs attempts to get off on a non-technical foot and thus re-assure his timid reader by assuming that, rather than a science, economics is actually a kind of philosophy about how mankind gets its goods and daily living. It is his contention that "what usually repels or discourages the general reader is getting lost in the labyrinths of some special theory." That this happens frequently indeed is due to the fact that most textbooks and treatises are couched in a language more adapted to the specialist or to students having other than the general need of the inquiring and intelligent man in the street.

A sprightly little book, its pages alive with

cartoons and line drawings, *Man, Money, and Goods* does attract the reader's attention and should hold his interest. Moreover, its organization is simplicity itself. First, Gambs takes his discussion to "Standard Economic Theory" presenting within this rubric the views of David Ricardo, J. S. Mill, Alfred Marshall, and the latest comers John Maynard Keynes and Alvin Hansen. This section ends with an evaluation of "Standard Theory"—that is, in its general outlines, the "Supply and Demand" school of economics.

The next section "Dissenting Economic Theory" deals with the ideas of Karl Marx, the Webbs, R. H. Tawney, Werner Sombart, John A. Hobson, and Thorstein Veblen. Gambs' definition of dissident theory revolves around the thesis that economists of the style of these last mentioned pay "a good deal of attention to the complexities and infirmities of the human mind." The main issue is "one of anti-intellectualism versus rationalism." Indeed, according to Gambs, "the standard economists are children of the eighteenth century enlightenment, who believe that men can reasonably control their environment." With the dissenter it is not so. He believes that man is pushed around by his economic institutions, by his habits, by his environment, in fact by all kinds of forces that are stronger than he is.

However, one must read the book to really enjoy its logic. The next to the last part discusses "Special Problems," and here again it is that most people either begin or end their search. The five sub-heads are concerned with Boom and Bust, Money, Banking, Taxes, and International Exchange. These all are pertinent and intriguing to nearly everyone who makes or spends a dollar.

Gambs' concluding section "What Next?" advances a prophecy rather than a solution. This may already have been revealed by the organization of his chapters or by the tone of his comment to date. The reader can assess this for himself. It will not do any harm to his thesis or take the edge off his conclusion, however, to repeat here his final word: "This featherless biped of Aristotle's has to combine inflation, depression, and sometimes warfare or worse with his search for worldly goods.

Perhaps we need to find out more about him, if economics is to progress."

To find out more about the economics of the past one is advised to read Gambs.

KENNETH V. LOTTICK

Willamette University
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Union Solidarity. By Arnold M. Rose. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1952. Pp xx, 192, xvii. \$3.50.

The author is a professor of sociology at the University of Minnesota. He already has to his credit such books as *The Negro's Morale* and *The Negro in America*.

For the study now under consideration, Dr. Rose selected the membership of the largest union local in St. Louis, that of Teamsters' Local 688.

Indicating, as it does, the way in which a worker relates himself to his fellow-workers, his employers, and the general public, this study represents a type of research which may be termed the sociopsychological. The author concedes that it is difficult to draw generalizations about unions on account of the fact that they have a way of being dissimilar.

Noteworthy is the fact that this research project was suggested, not by a university professor, but by a union man, himself. This man was Harold J. Gibbons, Director of Teamsters' Local 688. As the author observes, Teamsters' Local 688 of St. Louis, in its willingness to have the study undertaken, manifested an unusual attitude.

In making the study, the questionnaire survey method was employed, the questions being read to the respondent by the researcher.

Some of the conclusions reached by Dr. Rose are:

On the part of a union member, a frustrated desire to participate in union activities is more harmful than no desire to participate.

The attitude of the member's family toward the union is closely associated with the member's own attitude.

At the present time, union solidarity does not mean antagonism toward the employer.

While there is strong anti-Negro prejudice, most white members are willing to recognize Negro rights in the union.

Only a small minority would restrict the rights or privileges of Jews. But a sizable proportion adhere to false stereotypes concerning the Jewish people.

In ethnic attitudes, clerical workers, educated members, and nonchurchgoers are more liberal than other groups.

Making contributions to, or sacrifices for, an organization tends to increase loyalty to it on the part of the person making those contributions or sacrifices.

This will be a very useful book for use in a class in Labor Problems. It is interesting and informative.

J. F. SANTEE

Oregon College of Education
Monmouth, Oregon

The Federal Union (Second Edition), A History of the United States to 1865. By John D. Hicks. Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1952. Pp. xii, 698. \$5.75.

Since its introduction in 1937 Hicks's *Federal Union* has proved to be a popular text with students and teachers alike. Indeed, I believe there are grounds for considering it the nationwide leader for the introductory course in American history. The reasons for this success are, I think, peculiar. Although excessively factual, students like it—it seems to be their idea of what a history text should be; moreover, while its style is anything but literary, students like this too—the quick fluctuation from the commonplace to the unusual and, sometimes, obscure form, seemingly delights them; they consider it basically fair and “objective” when a more considered analysis could reveal a decided Turnerism, an acceptance of Parrington's Puritan orientation, and a lack of depth in treating literary and other cultural activities.

Nevertheless, one may be somewhat critical of the fact that Professor Hicks has seen fit to re-issue this good, but fairly conventional volume, without substantial change. It may well be that pressures in the American history textbook publishing field are in the process of developing and these have forced a premature release. It certainly is true that a number of fine new American texts have entered the market recently. Three of these, to mention

only those organized as manuals (and not arranged on a “problems” approach), are the books by Baldwin, Carman, and Blake. Any of these is to be preferred to Hicks although Blake is only a one volume text. The reason for this preference is that they attempt (and do achieve) relationships far beyond those essayed by Dr. Hicks. Furthermore, cultural and social developments are far from neglected and the synthesis of the political, economic, social and cultural is developed in an integrated fashion.

Hicks's “New Edition” however does have an entirely new format and page size. In addition to the double-column page and a brilliant new cover, there are several hundred new illustrations designed to compensate for the lack of social and cultural coverage. About 150 new maps have been prepared which are correlated with the text in order to “vitalize” particular points in the discussion. Many of these relate to military activities and expansion and, while the technique is laudable, it is not completely established that the detail furnished in the military maps is essential to a beginning, and for many students, a survey, treatment.

The pictures, however, are very good. They include representations of cartoons, old prints and newspapers, and early portraits. It is unfortunate that one cannot say the same for the maps for these, on the whole, are poorly drawn and are quite inferior to those in the earlier edition. They admit many inaccuracies and outright errors, *e. g.*, those found on page 102 and 158. Moreover, sometimes poor projections are used as the mapmaker does not seem to be a geographer at all.

Credit can be given for a better chapter arrangement. The former thirty-three chapters have been reduced to thirty-two and these have been organized into six master sections on a rough chronological basis. Some comment might be made concerning the selection of the periods or their duration but, doubtless, complete agreement in such matters is neither necessary nor desirable. The “Jacksonian Era” is, however, placed between the years 1818-1837. One might ask for a little different treatment of this.

Regardless of criticism raised, as it was in paragraph one, that Hicks's history is too

factual and lacks balance in the social and cultural area, the *Federal Union* still is a comparatively good book and one can predict that, in its bright new binding, it will be intensively read. It is a pity, however, that Professor Hicks did not take time to make a complete revision more appropriate to the needs of today rather than those of yesterday.

KENNETH V. LOTTICK

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Freedom of the Press in England 1476-1776.

By Frederick S. Siebert. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1952. Pp. xviii, 411. \$7.50.

"The purpose of the present volume," according to the author's preface, "is to trace the rise and decline of the government control of the press in England. . ." This study stretches over three centuries, from the introduction of printing in 1476 to the American Declaration of Independence in 1776. It is more than a study of the relation of the press and government, for it provides valuable and interesting information on the rise and fall of royal power, on the nature of civil liberties, on the reporting of Parliament, and on printing as a social and political force. In organizing his information, the author has followed a chronological scheme which devotes equal attention to the Tudors, Stuarts, and the eighteenth century.

In 1529, Henry VIII took notice of the political importance of the press by proclaiming a list of prohibited books; he went farther the next year by establishing a licensing system and granting printing monopolies. In 1557 Queen Mary, in order to prohibit "schismatical and heretical" publication, chartered the Stationers Company and granted it a monopoly of printing and also the power to search for and seize unlawful printing. Queen Elizabeth's Star Chamber Decree of 1586 consolidated the Tudor policy of control and perpetuated for fifty years. The Puritan Revolution of the 1640's greatly weakened the royal prerogative and as a consequence, the control of the press disintegrated. Late in the reign of Charles II the Stationers Company lost its monopoly powers and the Regulation of Printing Act Expired in 1692. During the eighteenth cen-

tury the government depended upon taxation and laws against seditious libel to control unfavorable publications. Although the press won the right to publish Parliamentary debates during the 1770's, its full freedom was not assured until after the passage of the Great Reform Bill in 1832.

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R. G. COWHERD

From Wealth to Welfare—The Evolution of Liberalism. By Harry K. Girvetz. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1952. Pp. xiii, 323. \$5.00.

This book is a masterly discussion of how liberalism evolved from a creed which stressed primarily the political rights of the individual as against the state to one which stressed the economic rights of the individual as against monopolistic capitalism. In the former case the powers of the state are to be carefully limited. In the latter the state is to be regarded as the individual's most potent ally in his struggle for a better way of life. The author shows with clarity and detail how this classical liberalism, closely identified with capitalism, was and is inherently a philosophy of life with roots and consequences everywhere. Finally, he shows how the modern liberal attempts to preserve the best from the older creed, to eliminate the evils that have arisen from it, and at the same time to avoid falling into the snares of totalitarianism. The author closes with a discussion of the two solutions to this problem, the American New Deal and British Democratic Socialism.

Conservative readers will criticize this volume as being socialistic. Yet, the author's line of argument, well presented and extremely well documented, will be hard to refute, if the reader considers it on its own merits and does not allow himself to be misled by propaganda words.

The real criticism of this book is that it does not lay enough stress on the growing problem of population pressure on resources. Unless this is solved, planned prosperity will end as planned poverty for all.

WILFRED T. GRENFELL

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America and the Mind of Europe. Edited by Lewis Galantiere. Library Publishers, New York, 1952. Pp. x, 125. \$3.00.

Thanks are due to Norman Cousins and the *Saturday Review* for putting in book form its outstanding issue, interpreting European and American ideas to each other at this mid-century of fateful decisions. The thesis that "as Europe goes morally and spiritually so goes the world" makes it very necessary for us to know what Europe thinks and feels if we are to continue our costly leadership.

Also, Russia's new policy, as announced in October, seems to be based on "divide and rule"—relaxing its pressure on the western world, exploiting friction and misunderstandings between the allies, making it easy for the U. S. to turn again from leadership to isolation and thus prepare the vacuum for Russia in Europe, as was done in China and Korea.

Will we continue our costly leadership and will Europeans in general, opinion-creating European intellectuals in particular, see in the United States a leader worth following? This is the problem posed by Mr. Galantiere and answered by nine European authorities. Ramon Aron, of France, asks and answers the question. He sees American leadership today as the product of historic forces rather than of America's will to lead, also as something the Europeans are forced to recognize whether they like it or not. He believes many European intellectuals are both anti-capitalists and anti-Stalinists, unwilling to acknowledge the benefits of a capitalistic system as we are working it out in America. Aron believes the masses would accept our leadership (1) if we do not insist that the rest of the world be like ourselves; (2) if we present unified and responsible leadership in Washington; (3) if we recognize and plan on the basis that the greatest risks in the Atlantic Alliance will once again be Europe's, should war come. Under these conditions the majorities would follow our leadership without resentment.

Denis De Rougemont under "Minds and Morals" discusses the need of unity in Europe, the heart of western culture, the cultural center of both Russian and of American civilizations—spiritual, moral and intellectual. "See to the ills of Europe because the germs that

caused them will one day attack you." "What we want of you is not so much the dollars we need as something quite different. We want you to find out how man can remain human and can continue to be a spiritually and morally responsible person, in spite of television and radio, mass magazines and comic books, the desperate inability of Hollywood to rise above its degrading ideas of American taste and intelligence and the tendency to refuse to face spiritual and moral facts."

Koestler's "War of Ideas" discusses Europe's dilemma of "Right" or "Left" in the light of the realism of fighting for freedom against overwhelming odds or sinking into a veiled neutrality—capitulation or martyrdom. His thesis is that capitalism or socialism, left or right, are already sterile questions which history is leaving behind for the greater conflict between relative freedom and total unfreedom. Capitalism and socialism must reach a *modus vivendi* as did Islamism and Christianity, and time is shorter than it was in the world of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Literary and artistic movements in postwar Europe are diagnosed by Spender of England, Lania and Lasky of Germany, Nabokov, formerly of Russia, and Soley of the *Magazine of Art* in the U. S. The last essay is Horace Sutton's "Transatlantic Travel—400,000 'Diplomats' on the Loose." Travel and learn, but travel intelligently with mature minds, controlled currency, courteous tongues and an understanding heart.

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The United States in the 20th Century. By Louis M. Hacker, and Helene S. Zahrtler. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc. 1952. Pp. xvi, 695. \$5.50.

At first glance many readers may look upon this volume as a revision of the older Hacker and Kendrick work, *The United States Since 1865*, which first appeared in 1932. But this must be regarded as a new book. It is new not only in the fact that the authorship, in part, is different, but also, in the fact that the point of departure is now 1900 rather than 1865 as in the earlier book. In an excellent introductory

chapter the authors trace those major movements which became the bridges linking the old to the new America. The one bridge was built across the oceans—by 1900 the United States was becoming aware of its larger destiny in the world and beginning to sense the insecurity which it has felt so frequently and intensely in the past half-century. Another bridge was one erected in the domestic economy; "from an old America which assumed that social welfare was linked with small individual business and the wide diffusion of wealth to a new America that would accept great corporate business organization and large agglomerations of capital."

This textbook is well-supplied with the usual devices which are provided to stimulate reader interest: maps, full-page photographs, contemporary cartoons, charts and tables. Particularly noteworthy are the charts which were prepared by the Graphics Institute and the cartoons which originally came from the pens of such outstanding men as Marcus of the *New York Times*, Kirby of the *New York World* and Shoemaker of the *Chicago News*. The material is well-organized; no student should have difficulty in selecting the essential matters which merit serious study. Some minor defects can be found; on page 559 a clear typographical omission occurs and on page 561 a small error of fact can be detected—President Truman received 303 and not 304 electoral votes in 1948. But these defects do not seriously mar a book which should prove useful to many instructors and students.

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HELPFUL CLASSROOM AIDS

GENERAL

The McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, has added two new biographies to its series of *They Made America*.

1. *George Rogers Clark in The West*.
 2. *General Billy Mitchell: Champion of Air Defense*.
- Price 2.40 each.

The Oxford Book, 222 Fourth Ave., New York 3, N. Y., has added four new pamphlets

to the Oxford Social Studies Series during the past year. They are as follows:

Business and the American Way, by Edward L. Korey.

Public Health, by Gustave B. Timmel.

Labor and the American Way, by Mark Starr.

Human Rights in the United States, by Isidore Starr.

Price 30 cents each.

ARTICLES

"Puerto Rico, Growth and Hope." *Newsweek*, January 12, 1953.

"Alaska Begins to Hit Her Stride," by R. L. Duffus, *New York Times Magazine*, November 2, 1952.

"Will Hawaii Gain Statehood?" *American Observer*, February 23, 1953. Volume XXII, Number 22.

"Washington, D. C." *Congressional Digest*, December, 1952.

PAMPHLETS

Poland: History and Historians, by Bernard Ziffer. Mid-European Studies Center, 110 W. 57th Street, New York, New York. Price \$1.50.

Freedom Pamphlets.

1. *How You can Teach About Communism*.
2. *Primer on Communism*.

Prepared by the Anti-Defamation League, 212 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. Price 25 cents each.

Official Documents. *Texts of Selected Documents on U. S. Foreign Policy 1918-1952*. Woodrow Wilson Foundation, 45 East 65th Street, New York 21, New York. Price \$1.00.

How Much Can Our Economy Stand? Prepared by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington 6, D. C. Price 50 cents.

BOOK NOTES

Government in Action. By Robert E. Keohane, Mary P. Keohane, and Mary Herrick. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1953. Pp. xxviii, 600. \$3.00. Third Edition.

Completely revised and rewritten throughout, with new illustrations in color and a new program of study aids.

American Problems Today. By Robert Rienow, Boston, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1953. Pp. xxix, 704. \$3.00.

A new text that teachers of 11th and 12th

grade Social Studies will welcome to use in the classroom. It deals with vital, live problems and presents the challenges which students must meet in the days that lie ahead.

Preparing College Men and Women for Politics.

By Thomas H. Reed and Doris D. Reed. New York: The Citizenship Clearing House, 1952. Pp. viii, 180. \$2.00.

A year's study of the courses given in American colleges to determine the value of these courses designed to encourage their graduates to take an active part in politics.

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Economic Development of the United States.

By John R. Craf. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1952. Pp. xxvi, 598. \$5.00.

Designed for students of the economic history of the United States.

The United States in the 20th Century.

By Louis M. Hacker and Helene S. Zahler. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1952. Pp. xxvii, 695. \$5.50.

Sociology: An Analysis of Life in Modern Society.

By Arnold W. Green. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1952. Pp. xxv, 579. \$5.00.

The Yugoslavs.

By Z. Kostelski. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. 498. \$4.75.

Making the Most of School and Life.

By Clark Robinson. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952. Pp. xxvii, 491. \$2.92.

A high school text in orientation and guidance.

Teaching the Social Studies in the Elementary Schools.

By Edgar Bruce Wesley and Mary Adams. Boston, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1952. Pp. xxv, 466. \$4.25.

The Choices before South Africa.

By E. S. Sachs. New York: Philosophical library, 1952. Pp. xv, 220. \$5.75.

Geography of Living Things.

By M. S. Anderson. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. xii, 202. \$2.75.

The D. P. Story. The Final Report of the United States Displaced Persons Commission.

Washington, D. C.: 1952. Pp. 376. Copies Free.

America's Greatest Challenge.

By Walter E. Myer and Clay Coss. Washington, D. C.: Civic Education Service, 1952. Pp. 214. \$2.75.

A Clear Practical Program of Political Education for Individual Citizens.

Youth on Trial. By Lucian J. Cilette. Washington, Pennsylvania: Better The World Press, 1952. Pp. xi, 254. \$2.50.

Studying Students; Guidance Methods of Individual Analysis.

By Clifford P. Foehlich and John G. Darley. Chicago, Illinois: Science Research Associates, Incorporated, 1952. Pp. xviii, 411. \$4.25.

Administration of National Economic Control.

By Emmette S. Redford. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952. Pp. xii, 403. \$5.50.

Administration and the Nursing Services.

By Herman Finer. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952. Pp. xvi, 333. \$4.00.

Your Country and the World.

By Robert M. Glendinning, Ernest W. Tiege and Fay Adams. Boston, Massachusetts: Ginn and Company, 1952. Pp. xxix, 512. \$3.72.

Lincoln Finds A General.

By Kenneth P. Williams. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952. Pp. xv, 585. \$7.50.

Please Excuse Johnny.

By Florence McGehee. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952. Pp. xx, 242. \$3.00.

Education For All American Youth: A Further Look.

Prepared by the Educational Policies Commission. Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1952. Pp. x, 402. \$2.00.

Cruelty to Children with Proposals for Remedial Measures.

By Eustace Chessier. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. xii, 159. \$3.75.

Current Research in International Affairs.

Introduction by Frederick S. Dunn. New York: Marstin Press, 1952. Pp. 193. \$1.00.

A wide variety of studies have been reported in this book.

The Economic System.

By E. T. Weiler. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952. Pp. xxxviii, 869. \$5.75.

Main Currents of Western Thought.

Edited by Franklin Le Van Bauner. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Incorporated, 1952. Pp. 694. \$7.50.

Readings in Western European Intellectual History from the Middle Ages to the present.

The Forgotten Republics. By Clarence A. Manning. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. xxvi, 264. \$2.75.

History of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

The Philosophy of Social Work. By Herbert Bisno. Washington, District of Columbia: Public Affairs Press, 1952. Pp. vi, 143. \$3.25.

An interpretation of one variety of philosophy operating in one sector of the field of social work.

Evolution and Human Destiny. By Fred Kohler. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. viii, 120. \$2.75.

Human Problems in Technological Change. Edited by Edward H. Spicer. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1952. Pp. iv, 301. \$4.00.

A practical casebook which has grown out of a special program at Cornell University.

Behind The Wall Street Curtain. By Edward Dies. Washington, District of Columbia: Public Affairs Press, 1952. Pp. xvi, 153. \$2.75.

The Dynamics of Social Action. By Seba Eldridge. Washington, District of Columbia: Public Affairs Press, 1952. Pp. viii, 119. \$2.50.

Social Studies in the Secondary School. By C. D. Samford and Eugene Cottle. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1952. Pp. xvi, 376. \$4.25.

This book presents material that will be helpful to student teachers and teachers now in the field.

The Treaty as an Instrument of Legislation. By Florence Ellinwood Allen. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952. Pp. 144. \$1.75.

Volume in Kappa Delta Pi Lecture Series.

Colonel Jack Hayes. Texas Frontier Leader and California Builder. By James Kimmins Greer. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1952. Pp. xxx, 428. \$6.00.

A story of a great pioneer in Texas history.

The Struggle For Transcaucasia. By Firuz Kazemzadeh. New York: Philosophical Library, 1951. Pp. xxii, 356. \$5.75.

A history of a section of the world that has received scant attention.

Outside Readings in American Government.

Edited by H. Malcolm MacDonald, Wilfred D. Webb, Edward G. Lewis and William L. Strauss. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1952. Pp. xxi, 884. \$2.95.

This revised edition includes more material than the previous edition.

The United States and World Relations. By Lilian T. Mowrer and Howard H. Cummings. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952. Pp. xxxi, 466. \$3.48.

Pattern For Freedom: A History of the United States. By Myrtle Roberts. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The John C. Winston Company, 1953. Pp. xxxii, 680.

A text that will appeal to all teachers of young people.

Geography of the World. By Leonard O. Packard, Bruce Overton and Ben D. Wood. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953. Pp. xli, 499. Revised Edition.

The Faith of Our Fathers: An Anthology of Americana 1790-1860. Edited by Irving Mark and Eugene L. Schwaab. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Incorporated, 1952. Pp. xii, 393. \$4.75.

Crime in Modern Society. By Mabel A. Elliott. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952. Pp. xxix, 874. \$6.00.

The New Dictionary of American History. By Michael Martin and Leonard Gelber. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. 695. \$7.95.

A reference volume that will prove most useful to all teachers of Social Studies.

Utility and All That and other Essays. By D. H. Robertson. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952. Pp. xxi, 206. \$3.50.

An account of economic events in the post-war world.

Monopoly and Social Control. By Henry A. Wells. Washington, District of Columbia: Public Affairs Press, 1952. Pp. xiv, 158. \$3.25.

Virginians At Home: Family Life in the Eighteenth Century. By Edmund S. Morgan. Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg, 1952. Pp. iv, 98. \$2.00.

The second volume in the Williamsburg in America Series.

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